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ABSTRACT

This scholarly journal, an official publication of the Reading Recovery Council of North America, was established to provide an interdisciplinary forum on issues related to the acquisition of language, literacy development, and instructional theory and practice. Articles in Volume 6, Number 1 are: "Documenting and Developing Literacy in Deaf Children" (Barbara Gioia; Peter Johnston; Laura Giovanelli Cooper); "Picturebooks as Aesthetic Objects" (Lawrence R. Sipe); and "Achieving Motivation: Guiding Edward's Journey to Literacy" (Susan King Fullerton). Articles in Volume 6, Number 2 are: "Learning and Teaching at an At-Risk School" (Diane Barone); and "Making a Case for Prevention in Education" (Billie J. Askew; Elizabeth Kaye; Dianne F. Frasier; Mohsen Mobasher; Nancy Anderson; Yvonne G. Rodriguez). (NKA)

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Documenting and Developing Literacy in Deaf Children

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ABSTRACT

The present report describes the findings of a longitudinal study of literacy learning and teaching within one classroom for Deaf and hard-of-hearing students (Gioia & Johnston, 1998; Gioia, 1999). During the first year of the project, we adapted assessment strategies originally developed for work with hearing children (Clay 1979, 1991), so that we could accurately record the children's literate learning in this primary level, multi-grade, self-contained classroom (Gioia & Johnston, 1998). Throughout the remainder of this project, we collaborated with a teacher of the Deaf to identify the instructional interactions that appeared to support student growth within the context of guided reading lessons.

These children exceeded the literate achievement expectations for both hearing and deaf students in many areas; in this report we delineate their competencies and the conditions under which they were fostered. Our findings, while very promising, suggest a number of avenues for future research to explore.

Note: In this article, the first letter of the word *deaf* appears as both upper- and lowercase. *Deaf,* when capitalized, is used to describe members of the community or to refer to the legal category of a disabling condition; *deaf,* when lowercased, is used to describe the physical condition of hearing loss.

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In first grade, Katie went from reading easy, patterned books such as *All of Me* (Butler, 1989) to *Henry and Mudge* (Rylant, 1995). This isn't a surprising achievement for a typical first-grade student, but Katie is not typical. Her severe-to-profound hearing loss substantially raises the significance of her progress. Adding to the surprise is that Katie's deaf classmates made similar progress (Gioia, 1999).

Their progress is remarkable in light of research that shows the average deaf student leaves high school with reading achievement generally comparable to that of a typical third-grade hearing child (Allen, 1986). It is also surprising in the face of theories that suggest phonological awareness is the primary key to becoming literate (Adams, 1990; Grossen, 1996; King & Quigley, 1985). By these standards, it appears that Katie and her classmates' literacy achievement beat all the odds.

Our intention in this paper is to describe how we collaborated with Lanie, a teacher of the Deaf, to design and modify existing assessment strategies typically used with hearing children for use with deaf children. Our goal in developing these assessment tools was to obtain accurate, detailed records of the children's learning. We also describe the complex journey of three deaf children on their way to literate achievements typically unavailable to peers with similar hearing loss. Further, we document the changes in Lanie's perceptions and instructional practices that made such extraordinary growth possible.

BACKGROUND

There has been substantial growth in our understanding of the early literacy development of hearing children in the last two decades, along with a concomitant increase in related assessment strategies (e.g., Clay, 1991, 1993; Goodman, 1985; Johnston, 1997; Sulzby & Teale, 1991; Wells, 1987b). Yet with few exceptions, such as Ewoldt (1985, 1990), Gioia (1997), Schirmer (2000), and Williams (1994, 1995), there has been relatively little work to relate this landmark research with hearing children to the study of early literacy learning and instruction with Deaf students.

We do know that an enormous discrepancy exists between the typical language and literate competencies of Deaf and hearing children (Allen, 1986; Erting, 1992; Gregory, 1995). This may be due to the fact that most Deaf children are born into hearing families and therefore not likely to be immersed in sign language from birth (Allen, 1986; Marschark, 1993). As a result, most Deaf students do not encounter accessible emergent language and literacy experiences until entering school (Erting, 1992; Gioia, 1997; Meier, 1991). Indeed, all too often, these children demonstrate significant limitations in their fund of general knowledge and language facility when compared with hearing classmates (King & Quigley, 1985).

To further complicate the issue, even when normal (i.e., sign) language development is achieved through immersion in American Sign Language (ASL), Deaf students are not at the same starting point as hearing students with regard to literacy learning. To begin with, any internalized language they have developed is likely to be different from English. For example, sign language cannot be written down,[1] and as a visual language, it is substantially different from an oral-aural language in terms of structure and organization. Consequently, even normal (sign) language development does not necessarily make an alphabetic literacy that much more tractable, an important consideration given current theories emphasizing the phonological aspect of language. In short, Deaf students must learn to read in English while learning English through reading (Limbrick, McNaughton, & Clay, 1992).

The question of an appropriate instructional language also remains complicated by a number of factors, including the cultural significance of language and the range of a student's residual hearing (Brannon & Livingston, 1986; Israelite, Ewoldt, & Hoffmeister, 1992; Marschark, 1993). Empirically, however, longitudinal studies have not yet demonstrated a clear-cut advantage for the currency of instructional exchange to be in any particular language or communication model, including ASL, Total Communication (simultaneous use of voice and sign), or Oralism (Gregory, 1995). These issues are not only theoretically and practically complex; they are also ideologically complex and divisive as well (Brannon & Livingston, 1986; Carrasquillo, 1987; Livingston, 1997).

THE PRESENT STUDY

In this paper we emphasize the transfer of assessment strategies originally designed for work with hearing children (Clay, 1991; Fountas & Pinnell, 1996; Johnston, 1992, 1997), but modified to accommodate the language differences of Deaf students, an area that has been virtually ignored by the research community. There has certainly been no demonstrated link in the field of Deaf education between assessment and instruction. Consequently, in our present study we engaged in collaborative assessment to document reading and writing behaviors and the consequences of instructional responses to the gathered data. By completing modified running records (Clay, 1993) and analyzing written language samples (i.e., spelling, journal entries, narrative composition, etc.), we began to chronicle the literacy learning of three Deaf children.

This study is part of a 3-year collaborative project with Lanie, a teacher of the Deaf, in which we view Deaf children's literate development through a lens colored by understandings about emergent literacy in hearing children (Clay, 1998; Cochran-Smith, 1984; Ferriero & Tebrosky, 1982; Harste, Woodward, & Burke, 1984; Sulzby & Teale, 1991; Wells, 1987a, b). That is, we worked to extend and document the Deaf students' literacy learning using techniques originally developed with hearing children (Barrs, Ellis, Hester, & Thomas, 1994; Clay, 1993). We sought, for the time being, to sidestep the cultural issues of primary language and language of instruction by working within an established Deaf education program with its own particular stance on these controversial but important issues (for more on this, see Brannon & Livingston, 1986; Israelite et al., 1992; Sterling, 1997).

Engaging in research that crosses traditional domain boundaries presents a number of challenges. First, there is the obvious need to learn the specialized language and theoretical underpinnings of each domain so that observations are relevant and conclusions sound. In addition, the priorities and perspectives of each specialty can be significantly different, thereby challenging researchers to find common ground. The collaborative nature of this project ameliorates some of these challenges typically presented by cross-disciplinary research.

In the following sections, we describe our current findings for this ongoing project. We will highlight the insights we have gained through modifying assessment strategies, including running records and writing samples. We will also discuss the various roles of fingerspelling, the use of handshapes to represent each of the letters of the alphabet to spell words which may or may not have an ASL conceptual sign counterpart (Carver & Kemp, 1995; Grushkin, 1998). Finally, we will highlight changes in Lanie's teaching practices that accompanied her shift in assessment processes.

Assessment Strategies

We incorporated the structure of the Primary Language Record (PLR; see Barrs, Ellis, Hester, & Thomas, 1988) as a means of organizing and considering the multiple languages used by the children in Lanie's classroom (students used at least two languages including Pidgin Sign English [PSE], ASL, and standard English). The PLR highlights the relationship between oral (in this case, sign) language and written language, and combines the use of observational data (i.e., running records and writing samples), student self-evaluation, and parent involvement.

Primary Language Record

In many ways, the PLR provides an ideal meaning-based model for integrating assessment and instruction (Johnston & Rogers, in press). Nonetheless, there are obstacles. For example, the demands of recording the reading behaviors of deaf students when they are communicating simultaneously in both sign and voice, as they commonly do in a Total Communication environment, present significant challenges, as well as opportunities, for the observer. When a deaf student reads text using Simultaneous or Total Communication, the observer is faced with competing sources of information: the text, the student's hands, and the student's voice. In this context, we have found that to use running records with any degree of accuracy we must co-observe the student. That is, while one observer focuses on the student's voice and the text, the teacher of the Deaf (or another adult who is familiar with the child's signing[2]) attends to the student's signing. Lanie's knowledge of the student's oral language and signing abilities, as well as her expertise in sign, often provided insights into the child's use of problem-solving strategies and revealed conceptual confusions that we, as novice signers, would have been likely to miss.

The use of the PLR and the collaborative efforts required to complete running records has provided a venue in which to discuss and explore the relationship between students' oral/sign languages and their interactions with print. The development of these shared understandings about the students' literacy development and the ways in which it might be fostered have been key advantages of this model (Barrs et al., 1988).

Using Running Records with Deaf Readers

Despite the challenges of recording the Deaf student's oral/sign reading, one serendipitous advantage presented itself early in the study. The use of conceptual signs during "oral" reading allows insights about the meaning that the reader is constructing while progressing through the text. At times, meaning-based errors that would be unavailable to the observer of a hearing child become evident. That is, when a hearing child articulates the words with a one-to-one voice-print match, the listener would likely infer that the reader has interpreted the text accurately. This may not, however, be the case; with a signing student, the confusion becomes evident in the student's signing. Take for example the sentence, "But it was too hot to..." from *Goldilocks and the Three Bears* (Hillman, 1990, p. 12). Katie voiced the words accurately, but revealed her confusion by signing the word *to* rather than *too*. In this case, although Katie's voice matched the text, her sign (and meaning) did not. This was recorded as follows:

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} \surd & \surd & \surd & \underline{\surd^{v}/\text{to}^{s}} & \surd & \underline{\ -\ } \\ \text{But} & \text{it} & \text{was} & \text{too} & \text{hot,} & \text{too.} \end{array}$$

note: *s* signifies signed, and *v* signifies voice.

By contrast, David recently provided an example in his efforts at meaning making across languages. When reading *Henry Huggins* (Cleary, 1950), David came to the unfamiliar word *armload*. At first, David began to fingerspell *arm*, but quickly recognized the "small word in the big word" (Cunningham, 1998) and provided the conceptual sign (gesturing towards his arm). In rapid succession, however, David glanced ahead and revised his response to the conceptual sign for *armload*. The problem solving was coded as such:

$$\frac{(\text{arm})^{fs}/(\text{arm})^{cs}/SC}{\text{armload}}$$

* *fs* signifies fingerspell, *cs* signifies conceptual sign,
and *SC* signifies self-correction.

Lanie's knowledge of her students' use of sign as well as the local conventions of signing have proven invaluable in sorting out minor deviations from the text, which may or may not affect meaning in sign, but have definite implications for written English. For example, explicit signing of past tenses and possessives (morphological markers) is negotiable in sign, as interlocutors expect their partners to infer these qualifiers from context. As a result, we observed that all three children fairly regularly failed to articulate the inflectional endings of verbs (in voice or sign) as they read and only intermittently expressed them in their written work.

While not diminishing meaning in sign, failure to represent either possessives or past tenses in written English clearly confounds our assessment of the student's understanding of the text in general and vocabulary in particular. For hearing children, knowledge of oral language might cue them to the syntactic irregularity of a noun following a proper noun, and thus, lead to a self-correction. In the case of Deaf students, their knowledge of sign often appears to override their implicit understanding of the grammatical patterns of spoken English, decreasing the occurrence of self-correction for this type of miscue. As this pattern emerged in the running records, it became a valuable point from which to expand the children's meta-awareness of the differences between their languages. Indeed, Katie shared her awareness of the differences between the languages in the following example, again while reading *Goldilocks and the Three Bears* (Hillman, 1990, p. 9). She read "while it cooled" as follows:

-	√	cool-ed/SC
while	it	cooled.

Upon self-correcting, Katie announced (in voice), "I was learned that word in speech before! The *ed* means past." Katie's statement revealed her meta-awareness of the languages in which she communicates as well as an emerging sense of application.

Ellie presented us with yet another example of the ways in which running record analysis could reveal the impact of sign language knowledge on print interactions. When reading *Bear Shadow* (Asch, 1988), Ellie inadvertently skipped an entire line of text. In standard English, meaning would have been interrupted; in sign, the sentence she signed was in keeping with ASL grammar. It appears that as a result of her knowledge of ASL, Ellie did not recognize the miscue. The underlined text is the portion she skipped.

> ...And he put down his fishing pole and began to run.
> He ran around the pond. When he got to the
> other side he kept running.

Interestingly, when Ellie was prompted to "try [that] again," she read the passage without error; whereas a hearing child might fully appreciate the impact of having deleted the line of text, it held little significance for Ellie. Rereading and self-correcting neither clarified meaning nor improved syntactical correctness—at least not in her first language. It did, however, provide an important insight for her teacher, one that later contributed to increased awareness and appreciation for the complex problem solving Ellie was attempting. As a result, Lanie's instruction with Ellie included greater emphasis on developing a meta-awareness of the differences between her various communication methods.

While one-to-one voice-print match is a typical goal during oral reading with hearing children, when text is transposed to sign, adherence to this pattern can disrupt meaning substantially, especially in the case of idiomatic expressions. For example, when sharing *The Bear Under the Stairs* (Cooper, 1997), David read the sentence, "William crept down the hall, cracked open the door," he signed the words *cracked open the door* literally, signing four words, two of which were not conceptually appropriate. That is, he signed *cracked* as *broken* and *open* as a verb rather than as an adverb. To reflect the intended meaning of this idiom, it would have been more accurate to sign the phrase with two conceptual signs, *door open* and *little*. In such a case, the one-to-one match is lost, but meaning is retained. Subtle miscues such as these were repeated elsewhere, providing Lanie with new understandings about David's problem-solving process during reading, which in turn, led to small but effective changes in her instruction. Specifically, when David demonstrated this type of linguistic problem solving, Lanie drew his attention to what he had done, thereby increasing the likelihood of its recurrence. By doing this, she also seemed to heighten his awareness of the differences between the various registers of English as well as discrepancies between sign language and standard English.

Fingerspelling

Fingerspelling serves different roles in reading and writing. In reading, it can be used in several ways and for a number of possible reasons. For example, fingerspelling is used to represent words that do not have either a sign language counterpart or a conceptual sign. Examples include articles of speech, such as *the* or *an*. Indeed, these words are not even typically included in a sign stream of conversation, especially if the interlocutors are communicating in ASL. At any rate, for the reader, the only way to represent these words is to fingerspell them.

Fingerspelling is also used to represent proper nouns such as names, although these are often abbreviated with the adoption of name signs. That is, rather than spelling *N-o-r-a* every time the character is referred to in a text, the reader may assign an initialized name sign as a kind of shorthand reference to the character. In the present study, when reading *Goldilocks and the Three Bears* (Hillman, 1990), Katie interrupted her reading to explain that she would use the G-handshape, which she then tapped on her left shoulder, to represent the main character's name.

Fingerspelling can also be used when a student encounters unfamiliar vocabulary. While many students might interrupt themselves to ask for an explanation or the definition of a new word, others, like David, use fingerspelling as a means of maintaining the flow (pace) of his reading, albeit with a possible loss of meaning. This was clear when David fingerspelled *t-r-a-d-e*, a word typically represented with a conceptual sign. By fingerspelling this word, David gave evidence that he was not focusing on meaning, especially as the conceptual sign is within his signing lexicon and one which he spontaneously incorporated later in the text.

Like some hearing children, David also appears to have learned to allow others to assume responsibility for monitoring his accuracy during oral/sign reading. For David, it appears that if the listener doesn't interrupt and point out an error, then he assumes that everything must be correct.

David's use of fingerspelling also maintains the appearance of rapid text recognition, at least at the letter-word level. During an interview, David explained that "being a good reader means reading fast," a belief he routinely exemplifies during shared reading. Indeed, when invited to read using both sign and voice, David often abandons the sign component,[3] in part, because it slows his pace when he needs to translate written English to sign.

As observers, a student's use of fingerspelling does not necessarily tell us what the child is thinking, but it does signal that the child may be attending differently to certain words or aspects of text (Carver & Kemp, 1995; Grushkin, 1998). Often, as we continue to record a student's use of fingerspelling as a strategy during reading, the underlying reasoning becomes clearer. For children such as Ellie, fingerspelling acts as a temporary placeholder, with the expectation of returning to self-correct, replacing the spelled word with a conceptual sign once meaning has been established. Ellie showed us the use of this strategy when she read, "I had a dog, he'd run b-y my side," and self-corrected the *b-y* to the conceptual sign for *by*.

In writing, fingerspelling plays a central role in learning the sequence of letters within individual words and helps to focus attention on such fundamental notions as letter and word (Gioia, 1997; Grushkin, 1998). In addition, we have observed the children using fingerspelling as a means of rehearsal, trial and error, or both. That is, just as a hearing child might write out a new word in more than one way in order to decide which way looks right, so too will a Deaf student use this strategy. In the latter case, however, the child may only produce the alphabet handshapes, rather than the print models.

Spelling

As noted above, the students with whom we have been working experience severe-to-profound hearing loss. Although their spelling development is above average for their age (including hearing students), it takes a slightly different trajectory than that of hearing children. The visual analysis that is evident in their spelling is in advance of their phonological analysis, as can be seen in their attempts to write a series of dictated words as well as in their own spontaneous writing samples.

For example, David's spelling is at what Bear and his colleagues (Bear, Invernizzi, Templeton, & Johnston, 1996) term the syllable juncture stage. In response to a request to write a series of dictated words (see Table 1), David demonstrated control of complex long vowels, and most blends and digraphs, including low-frequency ones as in *caught*. He is inconsistent with consonant doubling and has some trouble with less frequent affixes *(-ure, -ate, -tion)*. In spite of his extensive knowledge of words, when writing *preparing*, David failed to include the initial letter--not an error a hearing child would make, and one that suggests that he writes from a visual representation more than from sound invention. However, this cannot fully explain how, considering his profound hearing loss, when asked to attempt words he is unsure of, David includes some sound inventions as the /ch/ in *fortunate*, the /sh/ in *pleasure*, and the /k/ in *puncture*.

By contrast, Ellie's spelling is much more uneven. She has spelled consonant blends and digraphs fairly consistently with some confusions (*ch, dr, tr, cl, fl, sp, pl, squ*), and she has control of some within word patterns (*float*). She even has an example of consonant doubling from the syllable juncture stage in an invention (*saller; poopine* may also be a confusion of this). At the same time, she is still experimenting with short and long vowels (*clasis* for *closet, saller* for *cellar, drive*), more typical of the letter name stage. In part these discrepancies can be explained by the strategies she is using to spell unfamiliar words. Where

Table 1: Dictated Spelling List and Student Attempts

Dictated Words	David	Katie	Ellie
bed	Bed	Bed	Bed
ship	Ship	Ship	~~Boat~~ ShiP
drive	Drive	drive	Drive
bump	Bump	bup	Bump
when	When	wen	When
train	train	trin	train
closet	Closet	clsdt	clasis
chase	Chase	Chast	chase
float	Float	flot	Float
beaches	Beaches	beshs	Beach Beach*
preparing	ReAparing	pepring	preparing
popping	poping	poping	poopine
cattle	Caddle	ctles	cattil
caught	Caught	cthet	cagut
inspection	Inspeins	inspchin	epsishing
puncture	Punker	pcher	mlule
cellar	Seller	saler	saller
pleasure	Pleasher/pleshere	plcher	pleach
squirrel	Squarul	shwl	SQuriel
fortunate	Forchunat	fchnet	Forglley**

from *Words Their Way: Word Study for Phonics, Vocabulary, and Spelling Instruction*, by D. Bear, M. Invernizzi, S. Templeton, and F. Johnston, 1996, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill.

Notes

* When Ellie was asked to spell *beaches*, she wrote the word twice on the line. In sign, it would be appropriate to sign the word twice to indicate plural.

** When asked to spell *fortunate*, Ellie said, "Means lucky…I am fortunate to have many books."

she has the choice, she elects not to use spellings she feels she does not yet control. However, when spelling words are dictated to her in both sign and voice, she attends first to the speaker's articulation and attempts to replicate the mouth movements as an additional source of information.

Early in the study, Katie's reading lagged behind David's, and her spelling revealed considerable reliance on visual recall of print patterns. For example, in an informal writing sample, she wrote *McDonalds* as *MSIL DAOLAS*, and *aunt* as *atn*. On the other hand, she also showed an awareness of the role of speech analysis, spelling *museum* as *mayoudm*, and *vacation* as *veskshn*. Her progress in reading was impressive across the study, so that she was eventually a reading peer with David. However, even at these later stages, Katie was still wrestling with vowels and sounds not easily discerned on the mouth, as seen on the spelling test (see Table 1). Specific examples include her approximations of *bup* for *bump*, *cldst* for *closet*, and *fchnet* for *fortunate*. These challenges, however, did not appear to overly hamper her reading, where the search for meaning was her predominant goal.

Changes in Instruction

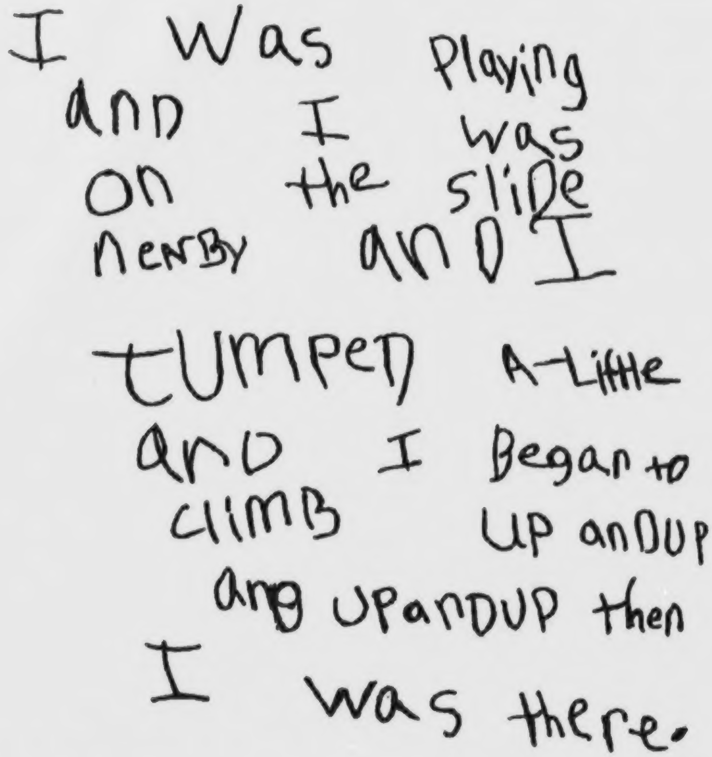
We found that careful recording and assessment of the ways in which the children weave their knowledge of multiple languages into their interactions with print led to increasingly sensitive and supportive teaching, much in the same way as described by Stefanakis (1998). Completing the PLR record form in a collaborative manner allowed us to have productive, data-based conversations about the students' learning and related instructional practices. For example, when these children were in kindergarten (Lanie has had them since then—some since preschool), a conversation around a running record produced new insights for Lanie about the significance and complexity of the one-to-one correspondence between print and sign-voice. This realization produced dramatic changes in instruction, both in the selection of books to share and in interactions with children around books.

Writing

During a conversation about a running record completed by the first author, Lanie realized that Ellie could in fact read. She had previously been responding to her as a child "not yet ready to read" by providing her with readiness-type activities such as coloring sheets. Furthermore, rather than inviting Ellie to write her own captions for her drawings, Lanie assumed the role of scribe. Indeed, at the point of this conversation (September 1998), Lanie did not even have a sample of Ellie's written language, assuming this was beyond her current competencies. When Ellie was able to read the caption book *I am*... (Cutting,

Figure 1. Ellie's Writing Sample

"I was playing and I was playing on the slide nearby and I jumped a-little and I began to climb up and up and up and up then I was there."



I Was Playing
anD I Was
on the sliDe
nerBy anD I
tUmpeD A-Little
anD I Began to
cliMB UP anDUP
ang UPanDUP then
I Was there.

1996) with one-to-one voice/sign/print match,[4] Lanie was, to say the least, surprised. Having realized what Ellie could do, Lanie responded by providing dramatically different opportunities for her in the classroom. For example, she provided Ellie with increasingly challenging texts and began to provide her with opportunities to do her own captioning.

In a related incident, Lanie shared a writing sample she had collected for this project (see Figure 1). In keeping with her underestimation of Ellie's literacy development, Lanie had acted as a scribe and captioned Ellie's drawings. Despite Ellie's knowledge of story structure and ability to make personal connections to print, Lanie assumed control of the pen. For example, in October of the first year of this project, Ellie dictated (in both sign and voice) the following, "Once upon a time,[5] there was a brother, sister and mom bear and father bear. Momma smell fox come. Fox want to eat baby. Momma, brother, sister climbed up tree to be safe!" By employing the data collection format of the PLR, we obtained a written language sample that again revealed previously hidden abilities.

In November of the same year, when she was given the opportunity to write her own caption, Ellie again demonstrated knowledge beyond Lanie's expectations. In response to reading *I Swapped My Dog* (Ziefert, 1998), Ellie wrote *I WantAgoAt* for "I want a goat," revealing knowledge of a variety of conventions, including an emerging sense of capitalization and spacing between words. Discovering that Ellie was capable of writing her own captions led Lanie to shift the responsibility for writing to her student, although initially the opportunities for writing were teacher-driven (e.g., story-starters).

After a number of visits, Lanie asked the first author, Barbara, why Ellie would dawdle so long over what she considered to be simple writing assignments. A discussion followed during which issues of choice, ownership, and investment were explored. After a brief period of reflection on these matters, Lanie began to loosen the constraints under which Ellie would write. One year later, at age 6 years 4 months, Ellie wrote and illustrated the story about her weekend. At this point she was also reading *Henry Huggins* (Cleary, 1950), a guided reading Level O text, which roughly corresponds to third-grade material (Fountas & Pinnell, 1996, 1999).

Guided Reading

Once the children were provided with materials and tasks that were within their range of competency, their steady and impressive progress presented new opportunities for Lanie to explore her role as their guide. As a result, reading lessons became much more collegial in nature, as the children and their teacher discussed strategies, personal connections, and the rich variety of language they would come across while reading books such as *Junie B. Jones and Her Big Fat Mouth* (Park, 1993) and later, *Henry Huggins* (Cleary, 1950) and *Harry Potter* (Rowling, 1998). These lessons truly reflected the shared construction of meaning. These were not hand-raising-waiting-to-be-called-on sessions, but more appropriately a conversation among peers. Examples of their exchanges include the following:

> **Lanie:** O.K. Before we start reading, what are some strategies you can use when reading?
> **David:** Look at the rest of the sentence…
> **Lanie:** David says we can look at the words before and after

> the word we don't know and decide what makes sense.
> **Katie:** We could ask a teacher, fingerspell it and ask a teacher.
> **Lanie:** You could also ask a friend, couldn't you?
> **Katie:** I could ask David.
> **Lanie:** Can anyone think of anything else you can do?
> **Katie:** Sound it out...
> **Lanie:** That's called phonics when we sound it out. You can also use pictures if the book has them, can't you? *Henry Huggins* doesn't have very many...

As the students review what they have previously read, David chimes in, "I'm reading *Harry Potter.*" Lanie follows his lead and asks, "Are you reading it at home with your dad?"

> **David:** By myself...but sometimes with Dad.
> **Lanie:** Brian (her son, who the children know) loves *Harry Potter*...he is reading them in school. Does your dad like them?
> **David:** Yes, but I don't really understand some of the words...Daddy doesn't understand all the words...they are different.

Lanie then briefly engaged all the children in a conversation about J. K. Rowling, the author of *Harry Potter,* and that she is from another country, England, which may be why she uses unfamiliar words. Almost seamlessly, Lanie steered the conversation back to *Henry Huggins,* again tying in the issue of language. Lanie asked the children to tell her some of the "funny words" they have learned in this book, words such as "jeepers" and "wow!" Lanie had recorded these words on index cards, which the children use for reference. The students have found this a useful practice, and even request that certain words be added to the deck.

While these interactions may not be extraordinary in some classrooms, they represent a marked departure from Lanie's more tightly structured model of the past. It is especially noteworthy that the shift in the focus of instruction was guided by data in the assessments. When initially asked about the change and about how she had come to lessen the constraints of the reading group interactions, she attributed the impetus for change to this "once-in-a-lifetime group of students." She indicated that because they were so exceptional, she could change what she was doing.

Reflections on Changing Practice

Near the end of our third year, Lanie was once again invited to share her thoughts on the project, her class, and her teaching. Interestingly, between the time when the question had first been posed several months earlier and our final interview, Lanie had taken the time to reflect on the evolution of her current practices and the progress her students had made over the course of the collaboration. During this conversation, Lanie's comments revealed that she had come to more fully appreciate the complexities of instructional interactions. That is, she identified many more components in the equation of teaching and learning, including such diverse elements as trust, assessment, self-awareness, and text choices.

A major impetus for engaging in a more thorough reflection came in the form of a complaint. During the late winter and early spring, a parent of one of our study children voiced concerns about Lanie's reading program. The parent, an active advocate for Deaf children, contacted Lanie's supervising administrator and reported that she was unhappy with Lanie's instruction and that her child "wasn't learning to read" in Lanie's class. She disapproved of the instructional program and went as far as requesting permission to observe a lesson so that she "could provide input" into how literacy instruction should occur. As the parent was not a trained teacher and had not made an attempt to talk with Lanie prior to her complaint, her request, not surprisingly, was met with some resistance. While a joint meeting between classroom staff, the parent, and the administrator eventually alleviated some of the tension, the entire episode heightened Lanie's meta-awareness of the instructional interactions she shared with the children. And while the incident did not impact Lanie's instructional program per se, it led Lanie to be much more reflective and analytic about was going right and how that was different from prior practice.

One example of this newer stance came when asked whether (and then, why) Lanie thought she was a good teacher. In her response, Lanie indicated that while she has always strived to provide a safe environment in which her students could take risks, her definition of what constitutes a safe environment has expanded considerably over the course of this project. While her original frame of reference focused primarily on behavior management styles and physical safety, she has now become aware of many different ways in which curriculum can narrowly define appropriate responses. Her transition from relying on known-answer tasks to more open-ended explorations allowed her to see a range of previously hidden possibilities, and by modifying her expectations she became open to the surprising abilities and interests of her students. In addition, the children began to ask and respond to questions that focused more on the literary than the literal aspects of text (Routman, 1999).

Lanie linked this shift in her practices to the use of the PLR for a number of reasons, and although this too is a commercially prepared guide, it essentially prompts the teacher to become a more effective observer of process rather than product. First, Lanie observed that because "the PLR is so child focused," the data allowed her to justify shifting away from commercially prepared tasks. This in itself represented a major shift in thinking and practice, especially as the traditional program in this particular setting was based upon basal-like materials. She noted the sense of competence she derived from recognizing student growth that might have previously gone unnoticed and unappreciated. As she put it, "I've become a better observer....I stopped relying on some arbitrary [published] program to tell me what they need, and [I have started] going with what I know they need."

Collaborative discussions during completion of the component tasks also provided Lanie with a place to discuss teaching and learning with a colleague, where her ideas were shared, stretched, occasionally challenged, and often validated. Our common goal during these discussions was to develop a shared understanding of the children, the instruction, and the intricate relationship between the two.

CONCLUSIONS

We remind readers that these students and their peers are performing as well as their hearing peers, a surprise given the history of literacy development of Deaf students in America (Allen, 1986; Erting, 1992). It is equally surprising because some of these students began in the pre-kindergarten program with very few words in any language. For example, Katie had an expressive vocabulary of 34 words in the January before she began kindergarten. (She was tested using the *Expressive One Word Picture Vocabulary Test,* Gardner, 1990.) Our work with these Deaf students and their teacher has led us to formulate several tentative conclusions and to raise some theoretical issues for consideration.

First, we believe our data lend weight to the claim that assessments involving careful observation and documentation —"kidwatching" (Goodman, 1985) or sensitive observation (Clay, 1993)—are productive sites for conversations and theorizing that stimulate instructional change (Johnston, 1992). This is just as true for the literacy instruction of Deaf students as for hearing students (Ewoldt, 1990). Lanie's daily theorizing about why her students write in their journals and read books in the ways they do provides important logic for her teaching. Further, when she is puzzled by a student's literate behavior, she seeks suggestions from colleagues on the basis of the data available. We believe that the format of the PLR lends itself to just such conversations.

Second, we argue that what we have learned about emergent literacy from studying hearing students can be productively applied to the teaching of Deaf students (Gioia, 1997; Gioia & Johnston, 1998; Williams, 1994). While this might not seem like a revelation, it is certainly the case that such instruction is uncommon and that literacy instruction for the Deaf has lagged behind developments for the teaching of hearing children. In part, this failure to generalize the principles of emergent literacy instruction to the teaching of the Deaf is associated with arguments over the primary language medium (Erting, 1992; Israelite et al., 1992; Livingston, 1997; Mason & Ewoldt, 1996) and communication challenges presented by crossing disciplines. For example, we found that PSE (Pidgin Sign English), a transliteration of spoken English that combines ASL conceptual signs and English word order, formed a useful bridge for students to make connections such as the one-to-one relationship between spoken and written language. Making such a claim (unpopular in some circles) does not imply, to us, that such a language would have more than a brief mediating role. It simply raises questions about the possibilities of such language transitions with all the cultural issues involved.

Similarly, our data on Deaf students' literacy development suggest that current literal conceptions of phonological awareness and its centrality do not adequately explain the literacy development of Deaf children (Taylor, 1999). It appears to us that these Deaf students do not literally sound out words, but are able to draw metaphorically or analogically on other sources of information to theorize about the structure of print. For example, their use of fingerspelling is one way into a sense of the left-right sequence of letters and the notion of word (Grushkin, 1998). Like speech analysis, fingerspelling reveals the transformation of a temporal sequence to the spatial sequence of print (Cowan, 1997). Some of the children explicitly use this strategy in their spelling either for rehearsal or for confirmation, much as a child cross-checks other sources of information while reading. For example, while attempting to decide on the correct spelling of a word while writing, both David and Ellie seemed to try out different (finger) spellings prior to committing their efforts to print. Some children also find a way into this sequence by modeling the speech analysis of the teacher—extending lip/speech reading, as when Ellie, who is prelingually profoundly Deaf, attempted to copy the mouth shapes of the unfamiliar words on our spelling test. However, use of the strategy to provide another analogue can only be useful on an intermittent basis as the information that is available is limited by the degree of hearing loss and where the component phonemes are produced in or on the mouth.

The increased quantity of reading in which these students engaged, coupled with the increased visual analysis entailed by their more extensive writing, appear to compensate for their diminished access to the phonological structure of English. Consequently, these students demonstrate a somewhat different order of spelling development, varying among students, drawing on a more detailed visual analysis than sequential analysis. What appears necessary, then, is that Deaf students develop the sense of one-to-one matching of words and the sense of the sequence of letters so that they can productively theorize about print. They do not require long-term use of PSE, any more than hearing children require long-term phonological analysis instruction. Rather, they need a way into the conceptual understanding that enables further development.

Overall, we would like to argue that those involved in the education of the Deaf can draw a great deal from studies of literacy development in hearing students, albeit sometimes by analogy. At the same time, analysis of the surprises and disjunctures that occur as we transfer teaching and assessment strategies across these populations will help us to better understand literacy instruction in hearing students.

ENDNOTES

[1] There have been attempts to develop a one-to-one match between sign and print. Picture books with sign exact English (SEE) captions are one such example. Another effort involves linking ASL with another orthographic system. Unfortunately, in the case of SEE, reading these texts is laborious, tedious, and in the end, distracting. In the latter case, acceptance within the Deaf community has been less than enthusiastic. (AERA Deaf SIG 1998).

[2] We have found that familiarity with the individual child's signing is of critical importance as relatively minor shifts in handshapes may alter the meaning conveyed. Unless the interpreter is wholly aware of the child's signing habits, the signed utterances may be misinterpreted and thus yield inaccurate data.

[3] When reading using both sign and voice, David, like others, resorts to "finger mumbling," a phenomenon similar to the strategy used by some hearing children who either skip text or speak very softly when presented with challenging new or unfamiliar vocabulary.

[4] In order to make this match with sign language, certain words that lack sign equivalents must be fingerspelled.

[5] *Once upon a time* is correctly signed as an idiomatic expression, but in this case, Ellie offered a one-to-one sign-word match, thereby changing the meaning of the phrase.

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Picturebooks as Aesthetic Objects

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ABSTRACT

Picturebooks have an important place in every primary classroom, and teachers use them in various ways to help children develop skills in reading and writing. This article provides a brief introduction for teachers who want to explore other ways of studying picturebooks: ways that enhance children's visual literacy. Picturebooks are unified artistic wholes in which text and pictures, covers and endpages, and the details of design work together to provide an aesthetically satisfying experience for children.

Note: In this article, the spelling *picturebook*—as one word—is utilized intentionally in order to emphasize the unity of words and pictures that is the most important hallmark of this type of book.

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Visiting the children's section of a bookstore can be an experience of wonder and delight. Examining the many picturebooks, we find ourselves in the presence of beautiful art of every imaginable medium and style and an endless variety of stories. Contemporary picturebooks are now recognized as more than useful pedagogical tools or nursery entertainments: they are seen as unique combinations of literature and visual art, worthy of serious attention. This article outlines a model for picturebook criticism which focuses on the formal aspects and elements of the picturebook as an aesthetic object. It is intended for teachers and other educational practitioners who want an introduction to discussing the visual aspects of picturebooks with children.

WHAT IS A PICTUREBOOK?

Sutherland and Hearne (1977) suggest that "a picture book is one in which the pictures either dominate the text or are as important" (p. 158). Their goal is to define so as to include "the broadest possibilities of the genre" (p. 160). Stewig (1995) focuses on the "picture storybook, in which the story and pictures are of equal importance. The two elements together form an artistic unit that is stronger than either of them would be alone" (p. 9). The present discussion follows Kiefer's (1995) criterion of interdependence of text and illustrations and adds Marantz' (1977) elucidation: "A picturebook, unlike an illustrated book, is properly conceived of as a unit, a totality that integrates all the designated parts in a sequence in which the relationships among them—the cover, endpapers, typography, pictures—are crucial to understanding the book" (p. 3).

In semiotic terms, each part of the picturebook functions as a *sign* and has the potential to contribute meaning to the book. I will describe these parts separately in the following sections and describe how each part contributes to the overall meaning of the book.

Physical Characteristics of the Picturebook and Their Meaningful Functions

Size and Shape

We might first consider the overall size and proportions of the book. A very small size, for example, may afford us the opportunity for a more private, intimate experience. Doonan (1986), in discussing Anthony Browne's *Willy, the Wimp* (1984), suggests that although Browne deals with some serious issues, he "achieves an overall lightness" (p. 171), which comes partly from the physical size and weight of the picturebook. The small size of *Willy, the Wimp* makes it possible for young hands to hold it comfortably: a book which the reader or viewer may curl up with easily in private. The unpretentiousness of the size reflects the nature of the hero. Nodelman (1988) points out that "we tend to expect rambunctious, energetic stories like the ones by Dr. Seuss from large books and more fragile, delicate stories like those by Beatrix Potter from smaller ones" (p. 44).

The proportions of a book are chosen for certain reasons as well. A strongly horizontal shape is likely to be chosen for a book whose illustrations include much background, landscape, or long panoramic perspectives (Doonan, 1993), while a strongly vertical shape allows the artist to depict human characters on a large, close-up scale. A horizontal shape may encourage us to take a broader, more objective view of characters and situations, while the artist may increase our empathy and identification with a character who can be more closely portrayed within a vertical shape.

Cover

Moebius (1986) comments that "skipping the cover and the title page is like arriving at the opera after the overture" (p. 152). All the elements of the picturebook which we see before we come to the first text opening (where the words of the story begin) communicate a mood and may give us signals about the thematic thrust of the story. In some picturebooks the storyline begins with the cover, the endpapers, or the illustrations included with the front matter, half title, or title page, as in Steven Kellogg's version of *Jack and the Beanstalk* (1991), where we learn from the front endpapers how the giant obtained his treasures before we begin reading the text of the tale. In Maurice Sendak's *We Are All in the Dumps With Jack and Guy* (1993), the front cover of the dust jacket consists of an illustration that seems actually to conclude the book in a triumphant manner, as the little homeless, nameless boy climbs out of the cave-like mouth of the moon with a stalk of grain in his hand.

We might ask whether the dust jacket is identical to the cover of the book or whether the cover reveals something different. For example, many of Jan Brett's books (published by Putnam) have entirely different dust jackets and covers; this allows Brett an extra space to display her carefully detailed style, adding to the beauty of the book. There is a more substantive reason for the difference between the dust jacket and the cover of *We Are All in the Dumps.* In this book, the dust jacket contains a color illustration, while the cover itself is a plain light brown and quite thick, suggestive of a corrugated cardboard box. Since the book is concerned with the issue of homelessness, this choice is meaningful for its evocation of the situation of people whose only home is a cardboard box: the characters in Sendak's book, as it were, live inside these box-like covers.

When the cover or dust jacket is opened fully so that both the front and the back are visible, we can see whether the artist has chosen to present us with one continuous picture, with front and back covers having separate illustrations, or with a blank back cover. In *Saint George and the Dragon* (1984), Trina Schart Hyman's front cover illustration alerts us to the major conflict within by showing us both the saint with his battered shield and the horrific dragon in a threatening pose; the back cover depicts a scribe writing the story or illuminating a manuscript, providing both an appropriate closure to the book and suggesting the connection of the medieval story with the book we hold in our hands. The front and back covers are connected stylistically with each other and with the illustrations inside through the frames and borders which suggest a stained glass window. Another connection between the book's front and back covers is that all the lettering on the front cover is hand-lettered in a medieval style, which we may imagine has been done by the scribe on the back cover. In *Where the Wild Things Are* (Sendak, 1963), on the other hand, the front cover, spine, and back cover comprise one illustration, wrapping the book in Max's dream. "Sendak uses both covers as an expression of the spaciousness of his fantasy" (Landes, 1985, p. 52).

Endpapers

The artist and illustrator Will Hillenbrand likes to think of the endpapers (also called endpages) as the stage curtains for a play, which are the first thing the audience sees when it enters the theater, as well as the last thing seen when the play is over (Sipe, 1998, p. 40). Endpapers may be printed in a color which is chosen to set the mood for the story, as in *Saint George and the Dragon* where the endpapers are a bluish gray, indicating the serious tone of the story as a whole and suggesting a twilight atmosphere. In the two openings before the text begins (the title page and dedication page), the sun is just beginning to rise; thus, the endpapers provide an atmospheric prelude in both a literal and figurative sense. (Note that *opening* here refers to any two facing pages. Picturebooks are rarely paginated; in the absence of page numbers, we can refer to, for example, the second opening or the seventh opening.)

In David Macaulay's *Black and White* (1990), the reader or viewer first reads the words *black* and *white* on the cover and then opens the book to see bright red endpapers. The endpapers in this case seem to make a visual pun, making us think of the old riddle about what is black and white and red all over; indeed, newspapers do have a part to play in the story or stories (Kiefer, 1995). If there are illustrated endpapers, they are frequently designed as a stylized or repeated pattern with motifs important to the story, as in the suggestion of tropical leaves in the endpapers for *Where the Wild Things Are.*

While most front and back endpapers are identical, there may be a reason to provide different ones. In *Good Morning, Good Night* (1991), Ivan Gantschev uses endpapers containing two areas of color representing the sun and the moon, the two major characters of the story. In the front endpapers, a yellow area appears above a darker purple area, while in the back endpapers, the order is reversed, with the purple area on top and the yellow area below. Because the narrative in this book proceeds from the sun's point of the view to the moon's point of view, this change is appropriate and meaningful, indicating the story structure in a visual way.

Choice of Paper

The choice of paper can also add to the meaning the artist is trying to convey. Nodelman (1988) comments that "glossy paper gives colors a glistening clarity, but it is distancing, partially because the light shines equally through all the colors and creates an overall sheen that attracts attention to the surface of a picture and therefore makes it more difficult for us to focus on specific objects depicted" (p. 47). On the other hand, the use of a matte or rougher stock invites our touch and our sensuous interaction. Chris Van Allsburg exploits this potential in *Jumanji* (1981), where the matte surface of the paper allows the delicate tones of silvery gray to be communicated more directly to us; one wants to caress the surfaces of the objects depicted.

Binding

The nature and quality of the binding will determine how flat the book will lie and how well the inner edges of the left and right pages will line up—especially important for books with illustrations extending across the entire double page spread.

The most complete statement of the art of the picturebook is usually found in the trade edition. The library edition and paperback edition often omit or truncate the carefully planned unity of the book. In the library edition of *We Are All in the Dumps* for example, the cover is not plain light brown, suggestive of a cardboard box, but rather the same illustration that appears on the dust jacket of the trade edition. Thus, this subtle contribution to the total meaning of the book is lost in the library edition. The endpapers are frequently omitted or changed to plain white in a paperback edition. As well, the size and proportions of the book are sometimes changed in a library or paperback edition.

Although I have dealt with the parts separately, it must be stressed that in a carefully crafted picturebook, each of the parts makes its own contribution to a harmonious whole. With the book in our hands, we should be able to understand how the choices involved in the size and shape of the book, the dust jacket, front and back covers, endpapers, title page, and front matter—the peritext of the picturebook (Genette, 1982)—all work together to convey a meaningful and unified experience.

ELEMENTS AND CODES APPLICABLE TO ILLUSTRATIONS IN ISOLATION

The illustrations in a picturebook are contextualized in a certain format and stand in a dynamic relationship to one another. However, since we see them one page opening at a time in a "simultaneous display of two facing pages" (Bader, 1976, p. 1), the elements of their design and their total composition can be partially understood in the same way that all pictorial art is understood.

Traditional Elements of Design

Color, line, shape, and *texture* have been traditionally considered to be the elements of visual design (Richard, 1969); Kiefer (1995) adds *value,* referring to the range of tones in either color or black and white. These elements comprise the artist's language or grammar in the sense that the artist uses them to communicate meaning in a nonverbal and visual manner (Cianciolo, 1984).

Our reaction to color consists, according to some theorists, in both its natural associations and the associations we learn through our culture. In some cultures, black is associated with mourning; in other cultures, white is the culturally constructed symbol for grief. Universal associations seem to exist between blue and calm, detachment, serenity, or melancholy; yellow and happiness; and red with warmth, anger, energy, or passion. Artists use these associations in their work extensively. In Alan Say's *Grandfather's Journey* (1993), for example, "the almost total absence of red in Say's evenly muted palette adds to an impression of reserved spirituality" (McClelland, 1993, p. 245).

The three aspects of color—*hue, tone,* and *saturation*—may help us to analyze the colors used in an illustration. Hue refers to the different segments of the spectrum, allowing us to distinguish all that might be called red from all that might be called orange (though the distinctions are of course blurry, because the spectrum is a continuum). Tone refers to the amount of darkness or brightness of a hue and can further be broken down into *tint* (the addition of white, or water in the case of watercolor) and *shade* (the addition of black). Saturation refers to the intensity or purity of a color.

What does this terminology have to tell us about, say, Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are?* A study of Sendak's illustrations reveals that the color used is generally of low intensity and dark tone, and that shades of blue predominate. Sendak's choices are predicated on his illustrating a story that is a dream or fantasy, taking place at night or twilight. Truly bold colors of high intensity and bright tone would be inappropriate here. Most artists' choices are like Sendak's: based not on a naturalistic rendering of objects, but on the emotional effects the colors engender. Changes in color can be signs of changing mood, as in the backgrounds of *We Are All in the Dumps With Jack and Guy,* where the range is from dark and somber to almost jet black to very light tints of blue, pink, and yellow. Lastly, the deliberate *lack* of color in picturebook illustrations is an interesting choice, especially nowadays when the technology of color reproduction is so advanced. This is clearly not a matter of the artist choosing to be limited by a range of black, grays, and white. Black and white seems a meager way of describing Van Allsburg's subtle palette in *Jumanji* (1981), where the surreal quality of the story is heightened by the lack of color.

Another aspect of the depiction of color and light is the use of light and shadow to both manipulate our attention and to suggest symbolic meaning (Arnheim, 1974). In the fourth opening of *Grandfather's Journey* (1993), for example, Allen Say shows his grandfather's face in deep shadow, which contrasts sharply with the white of his hat and the whites and light grays of the factory town behind him. The text reads, "Huge cities of factories and tall buildings bewildered and yet excited him." The viewer's attention is drawn to the white hat and to the dark face beneath; in symbolic terms, the contrast between the hat and the face suggests the simultaneous bewilderment and excitement that Grandfather feels.

Line can vary greatly and is perhaps the most powerful expressive tool in the artist's arsenal. Randolph Caldecott, arguably the first picturebook artist, relied on pen-and-ink drawing for a flowing, expressive line which needed very little shading to communicate life and energy (Cech, 1983–1984). Black outlining is a common technique in picturebook illustrations. The weight of line can vary from thick and definite to thin, feathery, and airy. Marcia Brown's illustrations for *Cinderella* (1954) have this latter quality, which is appropriate to the refinement of a French ballroom (Golden, 1990). The possibilities or functions for line include suggesting "contour, modeling, shading, and a sign for movement" (Doonan, 1993, p. 23). The fine crosshatched lines on the monsters in the three double spreads at the center of *Wild Things* invest the monsters with energy and motion, appropriate to the "wild rumpus." The smoothness or roughness of the lines can suggest either serenity or anxiety, stasis or energy.

Arnheim (1974) believes that all shape is meaningful: "Form always goes beyond the practical function of things by finding in their shape the visual qualities of roundness or sharpness, strength or frailty, harmony or discord. It thereby reads them symbolically as images of the human condition" (p. 97). Shape is illuminatingly discussed in Molly Bang's *Picture This* (1991), which explains several general principles of shapes in pictorial art. Bang suggests that horizontal shapes give us a sense of "stability and calm" (p. 56), while vertical shapes are more exciting and suggest energy. Diagonal shapes are the most dynamic of all, evoking a sense of motion or tension. Pointed shapes create more anxiety and fear because of their association with sharp objects, while rounded, curved shapes make us feel more comfortable and safe.

The placement of the shapes on the page (one element of composition) is also important. According to Bang (1991; see also Moebius, 1986), shape placement in the upper half of a picture implies freedom, happiness, triumph, or spirituality; while placement in the bottom half is a sign of greater pictorial weight or "down-to-earth-ness" and may also mean more threat or sadness. Placement at the center of the page is what Moebius calls the "ham factor" (p. 148). Center stage in an illustration is associated with greater importance, just as it is in the theater. The larger the object in a picture, the stronger it feels to us. Moebius also suggests that "a character shown on the left page is likely to be in a more secure, albeit potentially confined space than one shown on the right, who is likely to be moving into a situation of risk or adventure" (p. 149). In a well-composed picture, the artist leads the viewer's eye around the illustration from shape to shape through the overall arrangement of shapes and their colors.

Another factor is the number of shapes, which determines how busy or sparse the illustration appears. An illustration with fewer shapes tends to give the impression of calm or quiet. Arnheim (1974) also suggests that a detail may acquire weight if it has intrinsic interest. The triangular shape which is a repeated motif throughout Anthony Browne's *Hansel and Gretel* (1981) is an example of such a detail that takes on weight through its repetition and the association we make with a witch's hat.

On the flat, smooth, two-dimensional surface of a piece of paper, texture, like motion, can only be suggested, though today's sophisticated color printing techniques make it possible to convey an effective illusion of texture. Sometimes the rough texture of the paper for the original illustrations is noticeable on the reproduced pages of the picturebook, as in Van Allsburg's *The Garden of Abdul Gasazi* (1979). In contrast, the texture of the illustrations in *Jumanji* (1981) is smooth and almost silky. The use of collage gives the illusion of three dimensions and of many different textures to the backgrounds in David Diaz's illustrations for *Smoky Night* (Bunting, 1994).

Style

Nodelman (1988) defines *style* as "all the aspects of a work of art considered together" (p. 77). According to Novitz (1977), style can be defined on three levels. First, there is *pictorial* style: a recognizable style characteristic of a particular time or place. The Renaissance fascination with perspective and the Impressionist fascination with the immediate, unmediated visual image would be examples of pictorial style. Second, there is *artistic* style, which involves "changes in emphasis or in subject matter but not in overall methods of depicting" (Kiefer, 1993, p. 76). Finally, an individual artist has a unique *personal* style.

In picturebooks, artists may use both their personal style and make references to historic pictorial or artistic styles, as when Sendak gives a nod to the

Impressionists in *Mr. Rabbit and the Lovely Present* (Zolotow, 1962). In *The Castle Builder* (1987), Dennis Nolan makes use of the pointillist artistic style of Seurat. All of the illustrations are done with thousands of tiny dots, which seems quite appropriate for a fantasy about sand castles. For the folktale narrative of *Swamp Angel* (Isaacs, 1994), Paul Zelinsky chose to paint on wooden surfaces in a manner suggestive of American folk art. These artists' use of recognizable styles from other eras or cultures is the visual version of intertextuality. These interrelationships can be serious or comically ironic. Anthony Browne is a picturebook artist who makes playful and conscious use of the history of art; his books frequently include depictions of interiors with reproductions of well-known paintings from a variety of eras and artistic styles. *The Big Baby* (1993), for example, includes the work of Hopper, Degas, Dali, and Fuseli (all recognizable but changed in amusing ways), along with a reproduction of one of Ernest Shepherd's illustrations for *Winnie-the-Pooh* thrown in for good measure.

On whatever level we consider style, we must always ask how the style is appropriate to the subject or theme of the picturebook: how it conveys meaning and supports the meaning of the text. Hellman (1977) and Genova (1979) suggest that style has both formal, objectively describable qualities as well as subjective properties which convey meaning. This is perhaps best illustrated with a negative example: the illustrations for Robert Munsch's controversial *Love You Forever* (1986). Whatever one may think of the verbal text—and opinions range widely on this matter—there can be little doubt that the illustration style has not been chosen to match the text in any way or to add to its meaning. The naturalistic, highly colored, and clearly outlined style of the illustrations conflicts severely with the dream-like reverie of the text with its repetitions and evoked memories. If this text should be illustrated at all, it would perhaps be best done with an understated, altogether less naturalistic style in either muted colors or black and white.

Point of View

Point of view refers to the position of the viewer in relation to the space of the illustration. Where are we in this constructed space? If there is a table in the illustration, for example, are we on a level with the table's surface, looking at it from underneath, or viewing it from above? Chris Van Allsburg is one of the masters of the use of point of view. In the first opening of *Jumanji* where Peter sits in a chair, we see him almost from the level of the floor. In the third opening, which depicts Judy and Peter beginning to play the board game that will cause them so much trouble, the viewer is placed almost directly overhead. Some of the surreal quality of the illustrations (appropriate for this surreal story) is due to these odd perspectives and the abrupt changes from one perspective to another (Neumeyer, 1990).

Distance

We can also consider how close or far the viewer is placed to the scene in the illustration. Does the artist give us a long panoramic view, are we up close and personal with the characters, or somewhere in between? The closer we seem to the action, the more empathy and emotion we may feel; whereas a long view tends to make us more objective and detached, viewing the action from a safe distance. In Peter Spier's almost wordless *Noah's Ark* (1977), most of the illustrations are close-ups and very detailed, and make us feel great sympathy for poor Noah and his family, who are trying to cope with so many different animal needs and preferences. In two illustrations, however, Spier draws us back from the ark and relieves our claustrophobia by depicting the ark surrounded by the limitless water of the Flood.

Medium or Media Used

It is not always possible to identify the medium or media the artist used: tempera, gouache, acrylic, and oil paint are not easy to distinguish in a picturebook, where the physical surface texture (which might give its own clues) is not reproduced. A welcome trend in picturebook format is the inclusion of a note, often with the publishing information, which explains how the illustrations were created.

Each artistic medium has its own potential as well as its own limitations. For example, the medium of watercolor lends itself to a flowing, impressionistic interpretation that is evocative and suggestive rather than precise, whereas acrylic or tempera with a dry brush makes possible a very detailed and meticulous style. Whatever medium or combination of media is chosen, however, it must be appropriate to the text in some way. I have already discussed the appropriateness of conté pencil, with its silvery tones of gray, to the storyline of *Jumanji.* The translucent quality of watercolor is appropriate to *Saint George and the Dragon,* given that Hyman intends for us to have the impression of looking through stained glass windows. Peter Spier exploits the potential of pen and ink for detail in *Noah's Ark* (1978) in order to portray the multitude of birds, animals, and "every living thing" gathered by Noah and his family; and his use of watercolor in such a watery story seems appropriate as well.

Elements and Characteristics of the Illustrations in the Picturebook Context

As a part of a picturebook, illustrations have particular qualities and characteristics which are specific to that context, in addition to the general elements indicated in the preceding section. Here I will consider the choices the artist makes in relation to the framing, shape, and arrangement on the double page spread. I will also discuss the pictures as a narrative sequence.

Framing

The importance of frames in pictorial art has long been recognized; when we see a painting hanging on a wall, the presence or absence of a frame, as well as the frame's size and composition, are noteworthy factors in the total impression we receive. Dooley (1980) comments that frames often serve to convey the impression that we are looking through a window. Picturebook artists also pay careful attention to the frames they give their illustrations, making "a window in the book" (p. 109). The most common way of framing is to simply leave some space around the illustration. The wider the space, the more set-off the illustration seems, and the more objective and detached we can be about it (Nodelman, 1988, p. 51). Moebius (1986) puts it this way: "Framed, the illustration provides a limited glimpse 'into' a world. Unframed, the illustration constitutes a total experience, the view from 'within'" (p. 150). In *Grandfather's Journey* (1993), Allen Say frames the illustrations in white and adds a thin black line around the edges of the illustrations; this is a restrained and contemplative book, and this treatment adds to these qualities.

When an illustration extends to the edges of the page without any frame, it is said to *bleed. Full bleed* means that the illustration extends to the edges of the page on all four sides. In a full-bleed double page spread, the illustration completely covers the two pages of the opening. This is perhaps the ultimate "view from within" (Moebius, 1986, p. 150). Doonan (1993) comments that full bleed "suggests a life going on beyond the confines of the page, so that the beholder becomes more of a participant than a spectator of the pictured events" (p. 81). In *We Are All in the Dumps With Jack and Guy,* all of the illustrations are presented in this way. Sendak's decision must be related to the shocking immediacy and intensity of his story about homeless children: from the beginning to the end, the illustrations jump out and clutch at us. They attempt to enter the viewer's space and become one with it. This is the visual equivalent of a physical assault or a high-speed chase; the intensity never diminishes or modulates. In *Where the Wild Things Are,* on the other hand, Sendak reserves the full-bleed double spread format for the middle (and climax) of the book, where he depicts the "wild rumpus" on three successive spreads.

Breaking the frame—where part of the illustration extends beyond the straight line separating it from the white space of the frame—is a technique that often results in a feeling of tension or excitement for the viewer. When an illustration breaks the frame, it is as if it is struggling to emerge from the restraint provided by the frame. In the seventh opening of *Where the Wild*

Things Are, the tree on the left side of the illustration of Max's "private boat" breaks the frame onto the left-hand page; it intensifies the feeling of an expanding world as Max nears the "place where the wild things are." In Paul Zelinsky's illustrations for *Swamp Angel* (Issacs, 1994), the giant female protagonist breaks the frame in several pictures, including the cover illustration. This serves to accentuate her size; it seems as if she is too large to fit inside the illustration.

Because the frame is the borderline between the illusion of the illustration and the reality of the physical page (Uspensky, 1973; Whalen-Levitt, 1986), "a bounded time and space between the real and imagined world, or a transition from the real world and the world of representation" (Harms & Lettow, 1989, p. 140), breaking the frame also blurs the distinction between illusion and reality. This principle is memorably and amusingly demonstrated in Jon Scieszka's *The Book That Jack Wrote* (1994), in which each illustration is framed in a trompe l'oeil picture frame. The last illustration depicts a book, with the same illustrated cover as the one we are holding in our hands, lying on top of Jack (only his red shoes are showing, like the very dead Wicked Witch of the East in *The Wizard of Oz!),* surrounded by fragments of the broken wooden frame. This is frame-breaking with a vengeance!

Artists may also frame their illustrations by adding an illustrated border. The stained glass window effect of *Saint George and the Dragon* has already been mentioned; the borders are created by the thick brown lines that resemble the lead bars in stained glass. Many of the borders in the book are filled with detailed illustrations of plants indigenous to medieval England. In their detail and their use of the organic forms of plants, the borders contribute to the illusion of the book as a medieval illuminated manuscript. The much simpler borders in *Chicka Chicka Boom Boom* (Martin & Archambault, 1989) are polka-dotted and add an energetic, repetitive, and rhythmic component which parallels the lively and heavily rhythmic qualities of the verbal text. Jan Brett is known for the elaborate borders in her picturebooks. She often uses borders to enhance her narrative: the borders often contain an anticipatory clue about what will happen next or a parallel story. The effect of this utilization of the border is to create yet another text for the reader or viewer to absorb and to integrate into the verbal text and the main illustrative text; the border adds another layer of narrative meaning.

Arrangement on the Page

The artist can manipulate the space on the page in many ways. One common way is to place the text on one side and the illustration on the other. Double page spreads have already been mentioned. It is also possible to include several illustrations on one page opening as a montage. A good example of this is the first opening of Sendak's *In the Night Kitchen* (1970), where there are three illustrations of Mickey in bed, comprising what Schwarcz (1982) calls "continuous narration" (p. 24). This is one way in which the illustrator can indicate action, motion, or the sequence of time. *In the Night Kitchen* has many instances of montage, and most of them are also instances of continuous narration. For example, in the eleventh opening, we see four panels depicting Mickey in his "dough plane," flying higher and higher until he is on the same level as the giant milk bottle.

Vignettes, small illustrations used to break up sections of text or otherwise decorate a page, are more characteristic of illustrated books than picturebooks. A notable exception is the round vignette on the last page of *In the Night Kitchen,* where the text surrounds an image of Mickey with a milk bottle against the background of a stylized sun. Vignettes are also sometimes found on the back covers of picturebooks. *In the Night Kitchen* provides an example of this as well, with a small image of Mickey and the milk bottle, this time with his back to the viewer, as if we walked around the last page and viewed it from the other side.

Shape of the Illustration's Perimeter

While most illustrations in picturebooks are rectangular or square, the artist may choose to give a round or oval (or arched) shape to the illustration. Zelinsky's illustrations for *Swamp Angel* are varied in this way, in imitation of the frequent use of round, oval, or arched frames in folk art. A rounded shape for an entire illustration is similar in its effect to rounded shapes in the composition: it often communicates a serene, calming, contemplative quality. In Virginia Lee Burton's *The Little House* (1942), the rather sad experiences of the little house are belied by the rounded shapes inside the illustrations (the house and the other buildings curve, in defiance of reality) and by the round perimeters of many of the illustrations. Partly because of the gentle quality of these rounded shapes, we have the feeling that everything will be all right in the end. The last line of text in the book, "...and all was quiet and peaceful in the country," is depicted by an oval-shaped illustration. If we imagine how out of place a rectangular or square illustration would look here, we can understand the wisdom of Burton's choice.

Narrative Sequence

One of the unique qualities of the picturebook is the dynamic nature of the narrative sequence of the illustrations. As Schwarcz and Schwarcz (1991) remind us, "it is essential to realize that the illustrations in children's books are a *serial* art form" (p. 5). Picturebook illustrations are not intended to be viewed separately, but in a certain order; this order constitutes the visual narrative of the book. Narrative implies both action and time, and a number of critics have compared the dynamics of narrative to the art of the cinema. Roxburgh (1983–1984) comments that "just as the images on a strip of motion-picture film have a 'dynamic sequential existence,' so do the images in a picturebook" (p. 20). Illustrator Don Wood has observed that "the picture book is a spectacular child of the marriage of image and text. As such it is probably as close to drama or a thirty-two-page movie as it is to either literature or art" (quoted in Considine, 1987, p. 639). Nodelman (1988) suggests that picturebook artists use devices which closely resemble film techniques.

For example, both illustrators and filmmakers use a storyboard as part of their planning process. Illustrators often vary the point of view and distance in the same way that a film presents its images as seen from far away, moving to a zoom shot for a closer look. Nodelman (1988, p. 179) discusses the title page of ***Rosie's Walk*** (Hutchins, 1968) as an example of what filmmakers call an *establishing shot,* because it depicts the entire barnyard area around which Rosie will walk, giving us the big picture before starting on the action sequence. The title and dedication pages of *Saint George and the Dragon* function in a similar way, as we first see the fairies pointing toward the right-hand side of the page, and then see on the following page the Red Cross Knight, Una, and her servant dwarf riding in the distance. On the next page, the illustrator's camera pans nearer, as it were, to give us a much closer view of the three figures which fill the illustration.

There is an obvious dissimilarity between film and picturebooks; however, the illustrator has only a small number of opportunities to tell the story. Whereas the filmmaker can spend time looking at an object or scene from many different angles, the illustrator must choose carefully what will be illustrated and what will be omitted. In *The Act of Reading* (1978), Wolfgang Iser argues that every text has gaps or parts which readers must fill in as they read: a visual text includes gaps arising out the extremely limited number of shots the illustrator has available. Of course, the montage technique allows an increased number of illustrations. In *Noah's Ark* (1997), the ark is a visually rich and busy place; Peter Spier makes use of montage on almost every page to give us images of as many animals and situations as possible: one of his double page spreads contains a montage of seven separate illustrations. But even so, there is a limit, and careful choice is critical. Keeping in mind the principle that choice always involves rejection, we must ask, "What did the artist choose to include? What did the artist choose to omit?"

Another dissimilarity between the film and the picturebook is that we have the possibility of studying one illustration for a long time before going on to the next; we can also look back to previous illustrations, though with the advent of the video cassette recorder, these things are possible with film as well. The picturebook artist makes use of this opportunity by creating recurring motifs, patterns, or rhythms in the illustrative sequence. These devices assist in creating narrative continuity. For example, the image of a cage is a recurring motif in Anthony Browne's version of *Hansel and Gretel* (1981). The cage is thematically appropriate to this story of capture, entrapment, and escape. I have already mentioned the use of recurring triangular shapes suggestive of witches' hats. This triangle motif is one way in which Browne makes a psychological connection between the wicked stepmother and the witch (Doonan, 1986).

The beginning and ending of a narrative are especially important. One way of critically examining the narrative structure of a picturebook is to look at the first and the last illustrations and to try to understand how they are connected. John Ciardi has remarked that a good ending "must use up all of the story, [using] the metaphor of a fire so carefully laid that the ashes are equally burned—with no uneven lumps" (cited in Landes, 1985, p. 52). Donald Murray, the Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and novelist, has said that a good ending always circles back to the beginning. This is as true for a visual text as it is for a verbal one. This brings the story to a satisfying closure and is one of the principal ways the artist achieves resolution and a sense of completion. I would go so far as to say that every carefully crafted picturebook makes important connections in some way between the first and last illustrations. *In the Night Kitchen* begins and ends with Mickey safe in bed. *Where the Wild Things Are* opens with Max being sent to his room and closes with him back in the same room, with the symbolic assurance of his mother's love in the form of a supper that is still hot. This symmetry is aesthetically pleasing to us because it is so unlike the experiences of our everyday lives, where true closure and resolution happen so seldom.

A narrative always has rises and falls in its emotional trajectory. It should be possible to graph the level of energy or emotion at various points in the story; if we did so, the climax—the point at which our emotions are engaged the most intensely—would be the highest peak on the graph. In *Saint George and the Dragon,* we have a story with the climax in the middle, in the knight's battle with the dragon. Hyman's illustrations take us abruptly from the panoramic, pastoral scene of the knight and his entourage riding through the fields to the next page and our first sight of the spectacularly hideous dragon, its bat-wings spread from one side of the illustration to the other. The emotion-charged atmosphere continues through several pages, though Hyman wisely intersperses one calming illustration of the knight, lying unconscious while Una prepares to cover him with a blanket. The effect of this illustration is to help us catch our breath along with the knight, so that the illustration on the following page will have an even greater effect.

I have already pointed out that the illustrator of a picturebook must make some difficult decisions about what to illustrate and what not to illustrate in the narrative sequence. The high points in the narrative trajectory are frequently chosen for illustration, but this is not always the case. In some picturebooks, it seems as if the illustrator has consciously avoided the vertical moments. Nancy Ekholm Burkert's (1972) *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves* is an example of such a book. In an extended and fascinating comparison of Burkert's version of the Snow White story to that of Trina Schart Hyman (1974), Perry Nodelman (1988) points out that Burkert's rejection of the highly charged narrative moments for illustration is one of the many ways in which Burkert presents a cool, contemplative version of the tale. In contrast, Hyman's version illustrates many of the vertical moments, and this is one of the factors that contribute to the emotionally tempestuous, sensually charged quality of her interpretation.

Page Turns

One last point needs to be made about the narrative progression of a picturebook. In Barbara Bader's (1976) memorable phrase, we experience "the drama of the turning of the page" (p. 1) as we proceed from one set of facing pages to the next. Steiner (1982) points out that in most books, the particular portions of the text on successive pages "are meaningless divisions in a continuous span of meaning" (p. 142). When we read a novel, the page breaks contribute nothing to our experience; they are a necessary nuisance more than anything else, momentarily breaking the narrative flow as we hurry to continue reading. In contrast, the page turns in a picturebook have a complex semiotic significance because they have been carefully planned. The picturebook is not only a slow-motion series of presented verbal and visual images; the author or illustrator can use the brief hiatus in various meaningful ways as we turn the page. Page breaks can function as signals of changing perspectives, psychological states, or changing emotions on the part of the characters in the book; they may redirect our feelings or our attention. They may create suspense and drama, they may confirm or foil our predictions, and they may represent gaps in the narrative that the reader or viewer must bridge.

In *Where the Wild Things Are,* Sendak has used the page breaks in all of these ways. Consider, for example, the first three openings. In the first opening, we see a picture of Max in his wolf suit, using a huge hammer to nail a knotted sheet into the wall as a support for his makeshift tent. The text reads, "The night Max wore his wolf suit and made mischief of one kind." This incomplete sentence and phrase suggest that there is more mischief ahead; we might predict that Max is going to be in deep trouble. The page turn gives us the opportunity to engage in these speculations, which are confirmed in the second opening, which shows Max in mid-leap, brandishing a fork and chasing a worried-looking dog. The text reads, "and another"—still not completing the sentence. The first two openings are connected by rising action, as Max's antics become more naughty. The page turn to the third opening provides the time to ask what will happen now and involves much gap-filling, because this third opening shows Max in his bedroom, with a sour look on his face and his hand defiantly on his hip. The text on this opening finally completes the sentence: "his mother called him "WILD THING!"/ and Max said "I'LL EAT YOU UP!"/ so he was sent to bed without eating anything." Clearly a lot has happened. Mother has caught and scolded him, Max has been saucy, and Mother has marched him up to his room and shut the door. The turning of the page has signaled the change in Max's mood and perhaps our change of attitude towards him, as well: after being slightly shocked and amused on the first two openings, we may now feel either a little pity for him or the satisfaction of knowing that he has finally been punished.

The page turns in this book have been artfully designed; far from being meaningless necessities, they have increased our engagement and pleasure, contributing positively to our total experience of the book.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of *Art and Illusion* (1961), E. H. Gombrich reminds us that "to marvel is the beginning of knowledge and where we cease to marvel we may be in danger of ceasing to know" (p. 8). In *Looking at Pictures in Picture Books* (1993), Jane Doonan analyzes two picturebooks closely, commenting, "I enjoyed both books at first glance, and then went on to try to find the source of my pleasure" (p. 47). Doonan's method follows Gombrich's maxim: first, she enjoys the books, marveling over the compelling illustrations and the well-wrought texts, then she tries to understand her enjoyment. This article suggests a framework for doing this—for actively exploring the source of our pleasure and for appreciating the picturebook as "a provocative, sophisticated, cultural product" (Schwarcz, 1982, p. 10). The ultimate purpose of analysis and criticism should be to assist us in returning to any given picturebook with the power of seeing and feeling more intensely, thereby increasing our pleasure and capacity for wonder.

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Achieving Motivation: Guiding Edward's Journey to Literacy

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ABSTRACT

This article is a retrospective account of a teacher working with a child learning to read and write in Reading Recovery. Looking back provides further opportunity for analysis and recognition of changes or important moments in time with an awareness that may not typically occur in the throes of working with a challenging, at-risk child. This account builds upon observational records, a case study, and examples of the child's work, intersecting with a theoretical view that focuses on the complex relationship of emotions, motivation, and cognition in learning, providing insights into ways a teacher may scaffold for changes in motivational and cognitive processing.

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> **Susan:** "What's the next word you need to write?"
> **Edward:** "I don't know how to write it!"
> **Susan:** "Say it slowly. What can you hear?"
> **Edward:** "But I don't know that word!"
> *Little black dots scattered across the page as Edward rapidly tapped the pen on the paper.*
> **Susan:** "Edward, you try it. Say it slowly. That will help you write the word."
> *When Edward still said nothing, I slowly said the word. He then responded with the first letter.*
> **Susan:** "Good! What else do you hear?"
> *A long black line snaked its way across the page as Edward lightly trailed the pen across the paper. He looked at me sideways to see how I would react. I took the pen from his hand and again prompted him to say the word slowly.*

Variations on this scene played out more times than I would like to admit in my work with Edward. As he became more resistant, I would become anxious, wondering what he might do next. Would he get so frustrated that he would bite me, as he had his classroom teacher? My thoughts would become confused and disorganized in trying to focus on my teaching goals while attempting to keep him on task, not to mention how frustrated I was with my ineffectiveness. I felt so incapable that I wanted to quit! I soon became aware of how anxiety and frustration affected my teaching, but it took longer for me to realize that these feelings were also present in Edward. He too felt anxious and incapable—and he too wanted to quit!

The complexity of cognitive, motivational, and emotional factors that influenced Edward's behavior also influenced mine—and made it more difficult for me to make on-the-spot decisions and to teach with the clarity of thought and observation that was required. However, working with Edward each day challenged me to reflect more intensely, to think and teach differently, to put aside my own familiar patterns of responding, and to stay more attuned to Edward's ways of responding. I have reflected on how my work with this child influenced my own emotions, motivation, and cognition. It would be difficult to capture the complexity of this teaching-learning interaction without such consideration.

Unfortunately, my initial perspective was much more simplistic. I felt he was just unwilling to try. When I encouraged him to make attempts, he diverted his attention (and mine) by focusing on some other object, topic, or event (such as the black marks on the paper). As his emotional levels became elevated, so did the level of avoidance and anger. As I observed these cycles occur, I came to realize that each instantiation of such an event further bound these negative emotions and learning together, reinforcing the likelihood that the most inappropriate responses would bring about the desired effect—avoidance. He would not have to display his perceived inabilities or failure. Avoidance, at any cost, became the motivating force. The note that I jotted down when I first began to work with him—"I need to avoid giving him the opportunity to say, 'I don't know'"—was much more revealing than I initially recognized. My work with Edward became the impetus for my thinking more deeply about the functioning of the brain; the relationship of emotion, motivation, and cognition; and most importantly, about the view that children come to school with different ways of knowing and responding (Clay, 1998). These reflections became the driving forces behind my renewed interest in theories of motivation.

In the last decade, there has been increasing awareness of the importance of motivation in relation to literacy, but theory and research in motivation has had fewer connections to the study of emotions and emotional development. For children such as Edward, and arguably for all learners, a knowledge base that combines these two areas may contribute to increasing understandings of teaching and learning. In the first section of this article, I provide a brief explanation of the role of emotions in learning. The second section provides an overview of the theoretical constructs of achievement motivation and attribution theory and their relationship to emotions and cognition, followed by a discussion of the stance toward learning characterized as learned helplessness. In counterpoint to the discussion of learned helplessness, the relationship of motivation and self-regulation will be addressed. Throughout, I will provide vignettes of my work with Edward, describing how these theoretical constructs relate to work we do with at-risk learners. Edward's story serves as one exemplar of the complexity of emotions, motivation, and cognition and provides insights into the ways that interactions and scaffolding within literacy events influence changes in motivational and cognitive processing.

THE ROLES OF EMOTION AND MOTIVATION IN LEARNING

Since the 18th century, psychologists have recognized a division of the mind as having three parts: cognition (or thought), affect (including emotion), and motivation (Salovey & Sluyter, 1997). Yet, of these three, cognition alone has received primary attention in theory and research related to learning, and as a result, "we've never incorporated emotion comfortably into the curriculum and classroom" (Sylwester, 1995, p. 72). The relationship of cognition and affect has been an important area of study in psychology for more than 15 years (Salovey & Sluyter, 1997), but until recently there was little connection between the two in education.

While affect or motivation was included in a few models of reading processes, their role in reading achievement and reading behavior has received little attention "beyond appearing as a 'box' in the figure depicting the model" (Athey, 1985, p. 527). When Wigfield and Asher (1984) provided a review of achievement motivation theories in the first edition of the *Handbook of Reading Research,* they noted the few early studies relating reading and motivation. Only since the early 1990s has there been sustained research in motivation (Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000), primarily through the work of researchers at the National Reading Research Center who have developed a body of research relating reading, motivation, and engagement. Still, for the most part, the role of emotions is seldom incorporated into the discussion. This is beginning to change. Cross-pollination of theory and research—particularly in fields such as neuroscience, psychology, and education—has begun to offer new insights into the relationship of cognition, emotion, and motivation, which in turn can inform reading research and instruction. In this paper, I present an example of the complex nature of emotion, motivation, and cognition in early literacy learning through the story of Edward's literacy journey.

The Role of Emotion

Lyons (1999) provided an explanation of the neurophysiological and cognitive relationships of emotions to learning. Understanding the interrelatedness of emotions, motivation, and cognition serves to clarify their role in learning. While the workings of the brain are not the focus for this article, some key points will highlight the relationships that exist among emotions, motivation, and cognition.

Emotional Development

It is important to consider that biologically, some aspects of emotional development precede cognitive development. Research in neurobiology indicates that the emotional (limbic) system develops prior to brain networks devoted to cognition, for example, the neocortex (Greenberg & Snell, 1997; see also Davidson, 1984). The frontal lobe serves as the command center of the brain and plays an important role in mediating and regulating emotions and behavior from infancy through each stage of development. More specifically, the frontal lobe is responsible for acts related to programming, regulation, and verification, actions that are coordinated with the help of speech (Luria, 1973). Throughout childhood, interconnections increase and become differentiated between the limbic system and the neocortex, which makes language possible, allowing for both emotional experiences to be processed and linked with other areas of the brain and for "qualitative changes in emotional development" (Greenberg & Snell, 1997, p. 107).

Greenberg and Snell (1997) posit that "neural templates are being laid down for the management of emotion through connections formed as a result of critical learning experiences during childhood" (p. 108). From a neurological perspective, the frontal lobe works in conjunction with the reticular activating system (RAS), which is located in the upper portion of the brain stem. The RAS's role is to direct consciousness and attention. Working in conjunction with the frontal lobes and the limbic system, which regulates emotions, it provides a mechanism for selecting and directing attention, as well as feedback mechanisms to monitor behavior. Thus, as Greenspan (1997) explains, "each sensation, as it is registered...gives rise to an affect or emotion" (p. 18). He provides an example: A mother's laugh has not only particular auditory or sensory signals but emotional ones as well, and these responses are coded together in the brain. They might be coded as sounds-laughter and humor-fun with mom. "It is this ***dual coding*** of experience that is the key to understanding how emotions organize intellectual capacities and indeed create the sense of self" (p. 18).

Yet, every sensation does not produce the same response in individuals. Any parent who has nurtured more than one child can attest to Greenspan's (1997) assertion that there are "inborn differences in sensory makeup" (p. 19) that produce different emotional responses in different human beings. This distinctive emotional and sensory makeup accounts for unique individuals or learners, with the dual coding providing a cross-referencing of memories, experiences, and feelings, resulting in a sort of mental cataloguing of related sensory input (Greenspan, 1997). Thus, emotion and cognition function as partners in the mind (LeDoux, 1996). In support of cognition, emotion's most critical role is to "create, organize, and orchestrate many of the mind's most important functions" (Greenspan, 1997, p. 7). Emotion affects cognitive mental functions such as memory, attention, and perception (Lane, Nadel, Allen, & Kaszniak, 2000). Greenberg and Snell (1997) more strongly stress the role of emotion. They assert that "emotion...drives attention, which drives learning and memory" (p.103). Rather than a "dichotomy" (Greenspan, 1997) of mind and body, these researchers suggest there is a complex and integrated body-mind (brain) system with our emotions "as the glue that bonds the body/brain integration" (Sylwester, 1995, p. 73). In Edward's case, it seemed that the glue that began to bind his thoughts and feelings together was very negatively charged, fueling his anxiety, embarrassment, and eventual distrust of peers and adults in the school setting, resulting in unacceptable behaviors.

Edward's Cognitive and Emotional Development

For some children the partnership of emotion and cognition can serve as an impetus to propel learning, but in body-mind systems gone awry, behaviors that result may not be compatible with factors that ensure learning. As early as first grade, some children do not see themselves as capable learners. Edward was one of those children.

When I think of Edward, the word fragile comes to mind. He, as well as his world, seemed fragile. He was small for a first grader. He seemed lost in the shoes that were too big and that he could never keep tied. His voice was even fragile—babyish, shaky, and high pitched. In the beginning, his voice often faltered. His language sometimes came in phrases that did not make sense, and sometimes he could not get out the words. The harder he tried, the more he repeated words or phrases, stuttering and stammering, and sometimes he just gave up, not expressing his ideas.

According to Greenspan (1997), capacities for learning language require an emotional base. Without mastery of

> the capacity for reciprocal emotional and social signaling, [language ability may develop in a] fragmented manner.... Words lack meaning, pronouns are confused, and scraps of rote learning dominate...speech. Social interests remain focused on [the child's] body or inanimate objects. (p. 32)

When I first began to work with Edward, he hardly spoke. If I asked a question or did anything that seemed to make him feel uncomfortable, he sometimes made repetitive movements with his hands, or he rocked in his chair. If he had a marker in his hand, he would make random marks on the page. Sometimes he would grab objects from my desk or knock things over. I wondered if he was trying to distract me or shut me out and remove himself from the current situation. Throughout the time I worked with him, this type of responding escalated based on what I came to infer as a heightened stress level.

Here again is an example of how the body and mind are mutually influential. In response to certain kinds of stress, the body creates the hormone cortisol. Chronic stress is associated with high levels of this hormone. "In humans and animals alike, these hormones abound when we find ourselves in situations where other individuals or events control us and we feel helpless" (Caine & Caine, 1991, p. 66). Consequently, our capacity to think, solve problems, and make connections is impeded because of the "inseparability of body, emotion, and intellect" (p. 66). *Downshifting* (Hart, 1983) is the brain's response to negative stress or distress. In Hart's theory, the brain actually shifts from operation within the region of the neocortex to the more automatic limbic system and the triune brain's reptilian complex. This conceptualization of the brain comes from MacLean, the former head of the Laboratory of Brain Evolution and Behavior at the National Institute of Mental Health, and provides a model of how the brain evolved (see Wellman, in Costa & Garmston, 1997). This model suggests that the reticular activation system, referred to earlier, is located at the bottom of the reptilian complex. It is the receptor of information and attention. The cerebellum, which receives sensory input from muscle receptors and sense organs, integrates information and coordinates skilled movement. Actions such as movement and speaking are controlled as the cerebellum receives commands from the cerebral cortex. If downshifting has occurred, there is a shift of operation from the newer, more rational neocortex down to the reptilian brain. It is here that autoreflex systems are controlled, governing several basic body systems as well as inner drives, such as our sense of territorial boundaries and our fight, flight, or freeze instincts (see Caine & Caine, 1991; Wellman in Costa & Garmston, 1997).

Edward's responses seemed to be representative of this model of brain functioning, and as I became more understanding of the underlying reasons for these responses, I attempted to adjust my teaching based on signs of this downshifting. It became clear that for Edward, the neural linkage of negative emotional responses to school was strong. His emotions were driving his attention, and when presented with academic tasks, particularly literacy activities, his behavior seemed to represent fight or flight instincts. When initial responses of avoidance or distraction failed, he sometimes resorted to physical acts of resistance such as kicking me under the table. My only consolation was that these problems were much less severe in the tutoring context than in his classroom, where he was often relegated to time-out, sent to an in-school suspension classroom, and on a few occasions, suspended. His parents were deeply concerned about his difficulties but expressed confusion, frustration, and even anger in response to Edward's behavior and their inability to help him function appropriately and successfully at home and school.

I could understand and relate to their frustration. When I began to work with Edward in Reading Recovery, he had completed one year of schooling. He was characterized as bright by the professionals working with him; yet, based on scores from *An Observation Survey of Early Literacy Achievement* (Clay, 1993a) and his teacher's referral, Edward was one of the lowest first graders in a multiage classroom of kindergartners and first graders. Edward was also characterized by his teacher as being extremely difficult.

When I observed him within his classroom, during center times, he frequently chose non-literacy tasks such as playing with blocks or working at the sand table. I would watch him, almost in parallel play, doing what classmates were doing, but not interacting. Perhaps he had come to realize that inevitably, contact with peers seemed to cause difficulty and result in his being sent to time-out or more serious punishment. Prior to kindergarten, he had had limited interactions with other children or adults beyond his parents and grandparents. Unaccustomed to schooling, Edward lacked the social skills many of the children displayed, and his interests were not typical of most children. One day while he was discussing an anatomy book from home, detailing particular parts of the body and how they functioned, it became clear that he lacked a common register of language and had different interests than most kindergartners and first graders. When Edward was a part of whole class literacy activities, as children sat around the teacher, he always sat on the outer perimeters of the circle, near the back. He seemed uninterested in much of the first-grade curriculum and appeared frustrated that he could not quickly master the beginning literacy tasks so that he could more independently engage in reading texts that really interested him.

What was occurring within Edward over and over again was the dual coding of responses (Greenspan, 1997), connecting a variety of negative sensory input with literacy tasks. Environmental influences, through his interactions with teachers and parents, however unintentional, negatively affected the way that he viewed learning to read and write, as well as his view of himself as a learner. His early associations with learning to read resulted in difficulty or lack of interest. In turn, these negative events were registered with corresponding emotions, organizing and influencing his cognition, creating a poor sense of self and making it difficult to attend—he lacked the motivation to learn.

The Role of Motivation

Motivation has an important, multidimensional role in the complex and integrated mind-body system. It modulates and influences behavior and, in turn, learning, in complex and varied ways. Once thought to be centered around drives, current theorists recognize that goals, beliefs, self-efficacy, values, and social comparisons are all factors related to motivation.

Achievement Motivation

Achievement motivation refers to a willingness to achieve competency through effortful activity (Elliot & Church, 1997). While there are many different views of achievement motivation, attribution theory, self-efficacy theory, self-worth theory, and expectancy-value theory, all focus on perceptions that influence a learner's achievement-oriented behavior (see for example, Atkinson, 1957; Bandura, 1986; Covington, 1992; Eccles et al., 1983; Nicholls, 1984; Schunk 1984; Weiner, 1992). In order to understand what factors influence a child's willingness to learn and achieve competence, the child's own perceptions of his or her abilities and achievements must be considered. Achievement motivation theory focuses on the relationship of motivation to learning and hypothesizes that the causes that are attributed to success or failure influence future achievement-oriented behavior (Covington & Omelich, 1979), such as willingness to demonstrate effort (Weiner, 1992).

The notion of perception is critical in understanding this theory; each learner's own "interpretation of reality" (Blumenfeld, Pintrich, Meece, & Wessels, 1982, p. 402) must be considered in regard to success or failure, for it is perceptions that mediate achievement behavior (Blumenfeld et al., 1982). Perceptions affect each person's reactions or motives to succeed and to avoid failure, thus impacting achievement-oriented behavior (Weiner, 1992). Whatever a person attributes success or failure to is key.

Attribution theory, primarily based on Heider's (1958) seminal work, was developed to explain people's perceptions and causal beliefs. Attributions, or the causes that an individual perceives as affecting success or failure, are primary motivational factors (Heider, 1958). While not intended as all-inclusive, early achievement motivation research proposed four primary factors that explained learner's attributions for success or failure: ability, effort, task difficulty, and luck (see Weiner, 1979). More recent research has suggested overlapping dimensions of causality: locus, stability, and controllability (Weiner & Graham, 1984). For example, luck is external to the individual (locus), unstable, and uncontrollable. In contrast, effort is internal to the individual, not stable (i.e., an individual does not necessarily apply the same degree of effort at all times), and controllable (see Weiner, 1979, 1986).

In differentiating causality as internal or external (Weiner, 1979, 1986), the constructs of *contingency* (Peterson, Maier, & Seligman, 1993) and *locus of control* (Rotter, 1966) are important to consider. Contingency refers to the relationship between actions and outcomes. "The most important contingency here is uncontrollability: a random relationship between an individual's actions and outcomes. The opposite contingency, controllability, obviously occurs when the individual's actions reliably produce outcomes" (Peterson et al., 1993, p. 8). The notion of random outcomes (signifying uncontrollability) as contrasted with reliable outcomes (controllability) is linked to the locus of control: a cause can be perceived as an outcome of a person's actions (internal) or from some other factor such as luck (external). Perception of the cause—the way a person explains the contingency—influences cognition. According to Peterson and his colleagues, several steps are involved. First, the person must perceive the contingency. "His perception of it may be accurate, or he may see it as something it was not. So, for example, a controllable event may be perceived as uncontrollable, or vice versa" (p. 8). Next, an explanation for the failure, such as bad luck or stupidity, is formed. The result is that the person uses this perception and explanation "to form an expectation about the future. If he experiences a failure that he believes was caused by his own stupidity, then he will expect to fail again when he finds himself in situations requiring intelligence" (Peterson et al., 1993, p. 8). Thus, whether accurate or not, a learner's repeated perceptions of either incapability or lack of success, or both, may begin a cycle of future expectations of failure.

A number of studies have identified the types of attributions that learners use to explain success or failure along with their relationship to external or internal controllability. While the "number of perceived causes is virtually infinite" (Weiner & Graham, 1984, p. 168), researchers have identified study participants' most common attributions, or causes, for success or failure: intelligence, ability, memory, effort, work and study habits, mood, prior experience, interest, task difficulty, luck, attitude, and ability to concentrate or attend. (For further discussion of these attributions, see Weiner & Graham, 1984; Weiner, 1986. For examples of free-response investigations, see Anderson, 1983; Burger, Cooper, & Good, 1982; Elig & Frieze, 1979; Frieze & Snyder, 1980.) Often success or failure is attributed to effort and ability, which is usually considered internal, within the control of the individual.

Such factors are related to ability beliefs (Wigfield, 1997)—a learner's perceived competency in a particular area (see Frieze & Snyder, 1980; Nicholls, 1984; Stipek & MacIver, 1989). While viewed as controllable, factors such as the nature of the task or task difficulty, directions, and instruction are not within the control of the learner. Other factors such as luck, illness, teacher bias, or negativity are external and are viewed as more likely to be unstable and uncontrollable, although they are within the teacher's control. According to Minton (1979 in Blumenfeld et al., 1982), factors that elementary-age students used to judge ability included speed of work completion, effort, and teacher evaluation and satisfaction.

A study that has particular significance in explaining young children's attributions and sources of control is Stipek's (1981) research with kindergartners and first graders. In this study, high effort was linked with high ability. The quality of efforts was not taken into account. These young students believed that if learners worked hard and finished their work, they were capable. In other words, they tended not to make differentiations between ability, effort, and outcome (Nicholls, 1978) in terms of task difficulty or quality of performance (Blumenfeld et al., 1982). Moreover, for these young children, ability was judged as dependent on effort, and effort was often equated with good conduct. Therefore, conduct became a factor when explaining outcome (Blumenfeld et al., 1982).

An individual's beliefs about his or her capabilities to learn or behave in a particular way has been termed *self-efficacy* (see Bandura, 1986, 1997; Schunk, 1990). As discussed previously, beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors are linked and influenced by environmental or contextual factors. The influence of home and school factors on self-efficacy has been noted by researchers (see Dweck & Bempechat, 1983; Johnston & Winograd, 1985; Pressley et al., 1995), so teachers' and parents' attributions and their views of intelligence and abilities send strong messages to learners. Research shows self-efficacy to be a good predictor of motivation, affecting behaviors such as task choice, effort, perseverance, and achievement and other self-regulatory behaviors (See Schunk, 1990, 1996;

Bandura, 1986). However, the learner must believe that it is possible to improve and further develop abilities. "Students who feel efficacious about reading or writing well are apt to concentrate on the task, use proper procedures, manage time effectively, seek assistance as necessary, monitor performance, and adjust strategies as needed" (Schunk & Zimmerman, 1997, p. 37). Moreover, if a learner feels in control of his learning, he can usually overcome temporary setbacks or difficulties. In fact, students who have strong self-efficacy in the face of fears or doubts about performance may increase effort and attempt to be even more strategic as compared to learners who are overconfident and may actually decrease their efforts (Salomon, 1984).

Edward's Motivation

The linkage of ability, effort, and conduct in a young learner's perceptions may help to explain Edward's dilemma. In the classroom, Edward seemed to have no confidence in his ability to perform literacy tasks, and his teachers were dissatisfied with his unwillingness to attempt or demonstrate effort. His behavior suggested that he did not see himself as capable of success—that he viewed success as outside of his control. His teachers had become concerned about his unpredictable behavior, and at the onset of a problem, he was isolated. If good conduct was in fact an attribution that he connected with success (Stipek, 1981), he must have perceived himself as a terrible failure. Furthermore, if ability was perceived as dependent on effort, he and his peers may have felt that he demonstrated low capability. When I began to work with Edward in late September, it appeared that many outside forces influenced him to respond in increasingly unproductive ways, either passively or aggressively, depending on how out of control he felt. In response, I felt dismay at seeing him spend so much time outside the learning environment. Clearly, school personnel attributed the causes of his academic and behavioral difficulties to problems within the child rather than the instructional environment.

Ability, effort, and outcome are not necessarily distinguishable in children's perceptions. They do not engage in the "ego-protective strategy of attributing failure to external causes" as much as adults do (Wigfield, 1988, p. 79). Therefore, factors such as poor instruction, teacher bias, or negativity have the potential to seriously impact self-efficacy and be even more devastating for learners who fail.

Students like Edward, who are most at risk, may not be able to reliably gauge their own progress and may look to teachers or parents to provide feedback on performance (Schunk & Zimmerman, 1997). What happens when the feedback the child is given is primarily negative or responses to the child's difficulties are punitive? School personnel seemed to feel that Edward was incapable of behaving and learning. The anxiety of his parents was palpable, and they expressed their frustrations in trying to cope with Edward and the school's response toward him. They felt they had no control over Edward or what was happening in school. As a person placed for training (as a Reading Recovery university trainer) within the school rather than working as a district employee, I had good rapport with the parents and faculty, but little power (i.e., control) to influence decisions about Edward. Thus, all of us, along with Edward, were experiencing feelings of low self-efficacy. In cases such as Edward's, the emotional and motivational ramifications, and the resulting impact on literacy learning, are quite serious.

INFLUENCES ON LEARNING TO READ: THE INTERCONNECTEDNESS OF EMOTION, MOTIVATION, AND COGNITION

In the early grades, one of the most emphasized and valued abilities that young learners develop is reading. Yet, until recently, there has been limited information about motivation in reading, particularly in regard to the early stages of reading acquisition (see Baker, Afflerbach, & Reinking, 1996; Guthrie & Wigfield, 2000; Wigfield, 1997). Guthrie and Wigfield (2000) define reading motivation as *"the individual's personal goals, values, and beliefs with regard to the topics, processes, and outcomes of reading"* (p. 405). This definition emphasizes how motivation affects cognition or the strategic processes a learner invokes or chooses not to invoke. In this section, the link between emotion, motivation, and cognition, particularly beliefs about self and ability, will be further clarified in relation to learning to read. Implicit in motivation is the idea of setting goals and taking action, which is oppositional to behaviors represented in learned helplessness (Seligman & Maier, 1967). The construct of learned helplessness will be juxtaposed with its antithesis, the active and self-regulated learner.

Learned Helplessness or Active Engagement

Reading ability is a strong determinant of school success and children's perceptions of their skills in other areas. As students progress through the grades, their actual ability becomes intertwined with their attitudes and beliefs regarding success or failure. In other words, it becomes increasingly more difficult to divorce skill and will (Paris & Cross, 1983; Paris, Lipson, & Wixson, 1983/1994). Learning involves both skill (ability) and will (the desire, effort, and persistence to perform cognitive tasks), so the role that motivation and attributions play in relation to skill and will are quite critical to learning.

Strategies are employed to achieve goals. If a goal is deemed unreachable or if a learner does not feel in control of the learning process, then the learner sees no reason to make the necessary effort to use a strategy. Furthermore, if there has been a prolonged series of unsuccessful events, the learner is caught in a cycle of failure, finding it less stressful for poor outcomes to be attributed to lack of effort. For whatever reason, learners with these attributions may become inactive or act in a *passive failure* mode (Johnston & Winograd, 1985). This inactivity is often the result of an individual's perceptions, with a view toward unstable and uncontrollable outcomes. Past outcomes can only be reliable predictors of future outcomes if they are caused by stable factors (Abramson, Garber, & Seligman, 1980). For example, if an individual perceives ability as a stable trait and has not performed well in the past, he has no reason to believe that this will change. Also, if an individual believes that he is not in control of his own learning, as when attributing outcomes to luck or teacher control, the motivation for attempting or persevering with difficult tasks may not be present. Characteristically, these individuals adopt an attitude of "expected failure [and] lack the perseverance [to complete tasks; often they] give up before they begin a task" (Mark, 1983, p. 1). These individuals have been labeled learned helpless (Seligman & Maier, 1967).

For over three decades, Seligman and his colleagues (see for example, Abramson et al., 1980; Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978; Peterson et al., 1993; Seligman & Maier, 1967; Seligman et al., 1984), and shortly afterward, Dweck with her colleagues (see for example, Diener & Dweck, 1978, 1980; Dweck, 1975, 1983, 1998), have studied the phenomenon of learned helplessness. In spite of strong performances on previous tasks, students characterized as learned helpless expressed a lack of belief in their ability with ascriptions such as "I never did have a good rememory" or "I'm not smart enough." (Diener & Dweck, 1978, p. 458). Attempts at other kinds of strategies or increased or sustained effort were not present in their actions. Their behavior contrasts the group of students who were characterized as mastery oriented. These learners might also be described as active and engaged. Such students increased their efforts when difficulties occurred or attempted to find other methods of problem solving. These non-helpless students were characterized as *consistently persisting* until they accomplished a task. Examples of their comments included "I need to concentrate" or "I should slow down and try to figure this out" (Diener & Dweck, 1978, p. 459). In fact, the researchers noted that oftentimes, these mastery-oriented learners did not even make attributions when faced with difficulties. Instead, they focused on self-monitoring with verbalizations such as those just mentioned (Diener & Dweck, 1978).

During the months that I worked with Edward in Reading Recovery, I also worked with Molly, an average student from Edward's classroom. (These case studies were a part of my training in Reading Recovery.) Molly viewed herself as a successful reader and learner. She confidently initiated conversations about herself, her environment, and her learning. She exhibited confidence and enthusiasm during all literacy tasks. From our first interactions, Molly demonstrated a willingness to be an active participant in her own learning. She expressed her ideas, took over new learning quickly, and worked independently whenever possible. Molly resembled mastery-oriented learners, a descriptor coined by Diener and Dweck (1978). Unlike Edward, she maintained a consistently positive view of her abilities. Based on her own statements, she liked school, worked hard, and was a "good reader" and a "pretty good" writer. She indicated many times that she was "really good at lots of things in school." In fact, her view of herself and her ability seemed to be higher than her teacher characterized. This may explain how she maintained her self-confidence even though her teacher viewed her rate of progress as slowing since the beginning of the year.

As pointed out earlier, young children do not make distinctions between effort, ability, and outcome; rather, they consider children who try harder as smarter than those who make less effort (Nicholls, 1978). In addition, students typically equate success with factors such as speed, how quickly work was completed; effort, how hard one tried; and teacher evaluation, how pleased and well-behaved one is from the teacher's viewpoint (Minton, 1979, in Blumenfeld et al., 1982). Therefore, it is not surprising that within his classroom, Edward was having little success in the view of his peers and teachers. According to his teacher, Edward appealed to her constantly for help and did very few tasks without constant supervision. In her opinion, Edward was incapable of independent functioning, either socially or academically. He spent much of his time isolated from his peers and from the work of the classroom.

Edward puzzled me. Even when I joked or teased him, or praised him for effort, success, or good behavior, I noted how bright yet unresponsive and passive he was. In early research, clinical psychologists were intrigued because learned helplessness looked so much like depression. Observing them in the lab, Seligman (1995) characterized helpless animals and people as "passive, slow, sad" (p. 3). Even now, reading this, I recall Edward's shuffling feet, his slouched shoulders, his unresponsive face, and I hear his stammering voice.

My hypotheses for the causes of Edward's behavior and responses are tentative, but I suggest that Edward felt he had little control within his environment, and because of his fairly isolated early childhood experiences, he had had little guidance in sorting out appropriate ways of responding and interacting. Often his response was to isolate himself and attempt no interaction. The difficulties that he had had in school further exacerbated his difficulties and subsequent withdrawal, whether imposed by him or others. When he was placed in situations requiring interactions, he lacked the social skills to respond appropriately, so his passive responses of "I can't" or "I don't know" or his aggressive responses resulted in time-outs or in-school suspensions, reinforcing the view (from himself and others) that isolation or passivity was the answer. Edward preferred to withdraw but responded with aggression when his peers or teachers (including me) insisted on his participation. His response further reinforced the need for withdrawal, in this case, physical withdrawal from the environment.

Edward had been unable to figure out how to control his environment, so inevitably, he found ways to escape. From his point of view, those inappropriate responses may have signified glimmers of hope that he could still attempt some type of action or control, albeit inappropriate.

Connecting Emotions, Motivation, and Cognition

What influences these two stances (active versus passive) toward learning? What do researchers theorize is taking place in the mind? In relation to motivation, the result of procedural knowledge (how to behave or do something) is represented by products—the results of goal attainment. To explain how an active or passive stance occurs, Winne and Marx (1989) hypothesize that cognitive processing principles also serve to explain motivational processing: "Motivational content is coded in the same form as other information—namely, as primitive concepts, propositions, and schemata" (p. 244). These primitive motivational concepts are emotions (Weiner, 1986, 1992) and account directly for individuals' affect: "The etymology of 'emotion' reaches into the Latin *ex* (from) and *movere* (to move), combining in *exmovere* (to move away). Hence, emotions are the source of 'motive force'" (Winne & Marx, 1989, p. 245), and it is emotions that move students to take action or to become passive. Experiences, instruction, and participation in learning bring about the linking of motivational concepts and information that are stored in working memory. Motivational constructs or propositions are the results of this "emotion-information processing connection" (p. 245). These propositions (i.e., constructs, schemata) connect motivational content (emotions, attributions, and expectancies for success or failure) with cognitive operations, thus impacting an individual's willingness to demonstrate effort and establish future goals (Winne & Marx, 1989).

The result of Winne and Marx's hypotheses parallels Greenspan's (1997) explanation of the dual coding of emotions and cognition. When procedures are maintained that allow the learner to control the task and move toward goal attainment, there is the stimulation of positive motivational content or affect (feelings of success). This motivational content (i.e., emotions) is stored. Thus, positive feelings such as pride, happiness, and a sense of well-being and control are maintained in working memory. If however, as students work through a task, monitor their progress, and deem the product to be insufficient or deficient, "negative motivational content can be stimulated" (Winne & Marx, 1989, p. 247). With repeated occurrences, "emotional states of anxiety and helplessness are established" (p. 247) with the script or representative schema for behavior characterized by a state of learned helplessness.

The behavior most representative of learned helplessness is passivity. When individuals perceive an inevitable lack of control, they fail to initiate and monitor their actions. What may help to decrease learned helplessness is to somehow replace the script for passive responses with active procedures. An essential question, however, is how this script might be replaced. Corno and Rohrkemper (1985) suggest that the process of self-regulated learning might be a tool "through which students gain academic competence as well as a strong sense of personal responsibility" (p. 60). They define self-regulated learning "as the highest form of cognitive engagement a student can use to learn in classrooms" (p. 60). But what serves as a catalyst for this transformation? For children such as Edward, it is unlikely that the script will be replaced and self-regulation will occur without intervention and strong support from others.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SELF-REGULATED LEARNER

Social mediation is an area that has just begun to receive attention in research on motivation. In the development of motivation, recent studies have focused on the role of others such as peers, parents, and teachers (see Baker et al., 1996; Gambrell & Morrow, 1996; Oldfather, 1992, 1994; Sonnenschein, Brody, & Munsterman, 1996). In my work with Edward, the script of passivity was transformed by the cognitive and emotional changes that occurred through social mediation. As mentioned previously, the learning context can potentially enhance or deter motivation. Gambrell and Morrow (1996) suggest three dimensions of learning that intersected with my role as mediator in Edward's literacy journey: challenge, collaboration, and choice. While there are additional factors that contributed to changes in motivational and strategic processes, these interrelated factors promoted positive responses to learning and enabled Edward to take control of his learning process, shifting from a stance of passivity and helplessness to an active, self-regulated learner.

Challenge

In the previous section, an explanation was provided for the connection of motivational content (i.e., emotions and expectancies for success or failure) with cognitive operations. Feelings of success occur when learners feel in control of tasks and are moving toward goals. Therefore, decisions about whether to be effortful and strategic are related to task demands (Anderson & Armbruster, 1984).

> Learners of any age are more likely to take active control of their own cognitive endeavors when they are faced with tasks of intermediate difficulty (since if the task is too easy, they need not bother; if the task is too hard, they may give up). (Baker & Brown, 1984, p. 354)

What keeps the learner active is this just-right level of challenge. For students who have taken a passive stance toward learning, the role of responsive meaning maker comes less easily, and the child must be shown and guided in ways that will promote the "active construction of a network of strategies" (Clay, 1991a, p. 327). Demonstrating, guiding, and adjusting the level of challenges are all component parts of the teacher's role in scaffolding within Reading Recovery lessons.

Yet, the management of challenge was the most difficult dimension in my attempts to support Edward's motivation. In fact, early on, I contributed to Edward's feelings of anxiousness and poor self-perception. While one of the lowest students in first grade, Edward's entry scores on the *Observation Survey of Early Literacy Achievement* (Clay, 1993a) were much higher than the other three children I tutored. All his stanines were above 1, except for text reading and hearing sounds in words; letter identification and the word test were the highest at stanine 4. I was seduced by his test scores into developing preconceived ideas about what he should be able to do. I made assumptions based on his scores rather than being guided by my observations and Edward's responding. As later lessons would indicate, Edward had a foundation of literacy knowledge to build on, and he could learn quickly, but he did not know this. In his view, reading was about knowing words, and he did not know enough of them. Early on, both of us would become frustrated as he competently read and then gave up when he made an error. With one error, the task had become too hard! It took too many days for me to finally realize that I had to eliminate this unproductive response and ensure that he perceived himself as successful.

To improve my work with Edward, I regularly reviewed records and notes from previous sessions. As I began to look back at the first sessions during Roaming Around the Known, I noted some points that I had previously taken for granted. The primary reason for using the first two weeks of the child's tutoring program to Roam Around the Known is that "it requires the teacher to stop teaching from her preconceived ideas. She has to work from the child's responses" (Clay, 1993b, p.13). Working within this framework, I had collaborated with Edward on each task. As I reread my notes, I recognized that I had set him up for success. In hindsight, I also realized that having choices gave him a sense of control. During Roaming Around the Known sessions, he chose the books that he wanted to reread. I encouraged him to choose the topics for the books I would make and to dictate some of the stories. At first, because the language was more complex in the dictated texts, I read the books with him to ensure that he would feel competent. In the more patterned published texts, I supported his recall of the events as well as the language pattern before he started reading with statements such as, "Here's the book where the cat sat on the mat, and then those other animals sat on the mat..."

Such scaffolding, with the level of challenge gauged for Edward alone, positively influenced the ways he responded. In fact, new behaviors and responses emerged. For example, it was clear that rapport had developed and things were changing when Edward, typically unresponsive, offered an unsolicited comment: "They're doing show and tell in my class today. I could bring in a lizard, if I had a lizard." My response that we could make a book about that resulted in his idea for a story that was written with my assistance: "I like (both of which Edward wrote) Lizard (he wrote the *L*). I want A Lizards." He wrote the *i, w, a, l,* and *s.* Clay states that "the struggling reader has stopped using many strategies because he could not make them work [but when supported in] using the things he can do you will find that he begins to try again some of those discarded strategies" (Clay, 1993b, p. 14). Clearly, under the right conditions, there was already much that Edward knew and could draw upon, but at times he needed me to be the "rememberer" and "the organizer," assisting him in linking his existing but unrecognized knowledge to new learning. Thus, Edward's knowledge and his oral language became the tools that we used as I worked alongside him.

Unfortunately, after less than two weeks, the momentum was interrupted when Edward was suspended. Looking back, I now recognize that this suspension eroded the rapport that had been established. Upon his return, Edward was even more apprehensive about interacting, but I did not let that concern hinder me from pushing my agenda forward. We had to make up for lost time! Not surprisingly, the result was a lack of cooperation and collaboration across many lessons.

Edward's accelerated progress during Roaming Around the Known sessions had heightened my awareness of his vast background knowledge and sophisticated interests along with his capacity to learn. Yet, in the first weeks of lessons, I found myself constantly struggling with Edward as if we were in a tug-of-war while I attempted to reconcile his passive behaviors with the knowledge he held. Finally, I realized that I had taken away much of the collaboration and the choices that were hallmarks of our work together during Roaming Around the Known sessions. With this recognition, the successful interactions of Roaming Around the Known served as a compass to help me "find points of contact in… [Edward's] prior learning," to situate learning within the things that Edward *could* do (Clay, 1998, p. 3).

Such endeavors paid off in several unexpected ways. Very slowly, I began to see Edward increase his willingness to take risks. Short and Burke (1991) suggest that a primary factor related to risk taking is operating within what is known.

> Exploration of new ideas always operates on the edge of the known. Just past the boundaries of our currently comfortable beliefs is an area where we have some expectations but few certainties….Our learning needs to both connect with and go beyond what is already known to us. (p. 18)

But moving too far away from the known can hamper learning because it results in a

> loss of context within which to organize and interpret.... We cannot find the connections between the new findings and what we already know.... The new insights remain floating out there somewhere, unconnected and therefore difficult to learn and easy to forget. (p. 18)

Yet, when guided by a more knowledgeable other, the learner can be supported in taking risks and can develop new learning in the area known as the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978).

Collaboration

By working in the realm of the known, keeping new learning at the right level of challenge, and using my language to guide Edward's behavior, I served as the connector, the organizer, and the rememberer. Even for a time, my language, or words, served as a mechanism of self-control, gradually guiding Edward in changing ineffective patterns of responding. Initially, because of negative emotions and the limited self-efficacy that colored his responses, Edward was quite skeptical of my words, particularly the praise and encouragement.

For example, as I listened to him read the text *Catch That Frog,* I was pleased by his good approximation (i.e., *after* and then *across* were substituted for the word *around*). Edward then monitored his error. Realizing he was not right but not knowing how to fix it, Edward reacted with frustration. However, at the end of the book, my response served to adjust strategic as well as motivational processes to encourage further risk taking and to show him I valued his processing. I said, "That was some good work! When you tried this, you were thinking about what made sense, sounded right, and looked right at the beginning of this word. Then, you did something else that was great! You kept working! And you noticed that something still didn't look right, but you weren't sure how to fix it. Next time, when you give it another try—read it again and use the beginning and other parts of the word, like the end, to help you figure it out. Let's try that again and I'll help you."

Of course, this did not bring about an immediate change in behavior and self-perception; but after many instantiations, there was a gradual shift in motivational and cognitive processing enabling Edward to regulate his behavior more independently. Greenspan (1997) points out that "when adults help children master a skill in steps that match their own strengths and tendencies, youngsters experience the exhilaration of doing something well that is intrinsic in the human nervous system" (p. 223). Such powerful feelings influence the motivational processes that encourage a learner to continue to endeavor. When learners learn, when they take control, "they go on to extend their own learning. Even at a low level of simple performance, a sense of control and a sense of being effective will generate attention, interest, and motivation" (Clay, 1998, p. 4). This was the key for Edward. He was learning so much, and yet he seemed unaware of his knowledge. My job was to help him discover it!

In the earlier example of Edward's reading of *Catch That Frog,* my teaching focused on what was appropriate and most productive for this child. In Edward's case, he almost always knew when he was not right and deeply felt the impact, although he was also afraid to try to fix it for fear of being wrong again. In discussing learned helpless children, Dweck (1975) offers this advice:

> An instructional program for children who have difficulty dealing with failure would do well not to skirt the issue by trying to ensure success or by glossing over failure. Instead, it should include procedures for dealing with this problem directly. This is not to suggest that failure should be included in great amounts or that failure per se is desirable, but rather, that errors should be capitalized upon as vehicles for teaching the child how to handle failure. (p. 684)

Edward's frustration began with noting the error because he was unsure of how to fix it. By praising his efforts and then saying, "Next time, give it another try. Read it again and use the beginning and end of the word to help you figure it out," I valued the work he had done while providing additional choices or options for how he might respond. In other words, my scaffolding provided reinforcement for Edward's self-monitoring, perhaps the most important foundational behavior for other self-regulatory processes (Zimmerman, 1998), allowing me to then support Edward in developing additional ways of problem-solving text difficulties. Gradually, through demonstration, working with him, and eventually prompting him to work independently, I helped Edward become, and perceive himself as an engaged, active problem-solver.

Initially, this engagement occurred only during reading. Edward resisted my encouragement during writing. Perhaps the nature of the process contributed to his discomfort. During writing, the child's processing is slowed down, and the links that are made in relation to sounds and letters are more easily discerned (Clay, 1982; DeFord, 1994), but so are the errors! To Edward, it was too risky to make such attempts. In reading, errors did not seem quite so glaring, but marks on the paper produced evidence of things that Edward did not know—that he was not able to control confidently. With time, I came to recognize that I was expecting him to take on too much of the task too soon, and I began to increase my support and decrease the number of sounds that I expected him to hear and record. I also realized that by insisting that Edward take on so much of the task so quickly, I had contributed to his feelings of a lack of control and capability.

Choice

The opportunity to make choices gives learners a sense of control (Gambrell & Morrow, 1996). In retrospect, I have greater awareness of the potential and necessity of choice in Edward's learning. Earlier, I discussed how choices were provided and supported in reading and writing selections, but Edward's strategic decision making, his choices regarding how to respond, were even more important. In reading, my language or prompts provided Edward with strategic options or choices. Unfortunately, in our early lessons I did not make these choices as clear in writing—that he had control over what he chose to write and how he might use the Elkonin boxes as a scaffold.

ALTERING EDWARD'S PATH OF PROGRESS

Clay and Cazden (1990) have suggested that the Reading Recovery program serves as a scaffold. My understanding of this became much clearer because of Edward. For him, the lesson framework provided support in two ways. First, the framework gave him a sense of control. The components were something that he could predict, and thereby control. Edward came to understand and anticipate what would happen next, which seemed to have a calming effect—"Now we're going to make some words" or "Now we get to read the new book." He came to realize that there was variability through the freedom of choice and decision making within each component, but always, certain aspects were known. Again, working within the known promoted a sense of control, which promoted risk taking.

The second way in which the lesson provides a scaffold relates to the recursive nature of learning established through this framework. Each experience within each day's lesson provides opportunities for increased fluency and flexibility with things that are known. For example, rereading his favorite books with increasing fluency gave Edward a heightened sense of control and capability. Over time, this provided momentum, and he eventually began to show willingness to take risks in writing, which came later in the lesson. The first instance of this occurred when I encouraged him to read his story he had written the day before: "Lucy is my dog. Lucy is brown and black and white." Edward and I began to talk about Lucy and his two cats, which ultimately resulted in his decision to write more about Lucy and to add something about one of the cats: "Lucy is small. Lucy can chase the cat." I wrote *Lucy* and waited. He then quickly wrote *is*. When I encouraged him to say *small* slowly, the Elkonin boxes provided the structure for him to confidently push the counters into the boxes, hearing and recording the *s* and *l* in *small*, supported by the Elkonin boxes. He also was able to correctly write *can*, he heard the *s* at the end of *chase*, and then he wrote *the* and *cat*. The conversation, based on Edward's interests and supported by his knowledge, provided choices for his writing. The conversation and the Elkonin boxes provided ways for Edward to become increasingly independent in guiding his learning. As his teacher, I monitored and regulated my own behavior in order to offer appropriate levels of support and expectation, empowering him to work at a level of just-right challenge without calling up the scripts for passivity. Our work together and Edward's new ways of responding provides an illustration of Clay's (1998) words:

> Learner-centered instruction is…starting where the learner already is and helping that learner to move toward a new degree of control over novel tasks, teaching so that learners are successful and are able to say, "I am in control of this." From there they go on to extend their own learning (pp. 3–4).

For Edward, his script of passivity was replaced as he gained competence and a sense of self-efficacy.

One memorable event gave me hope that Edward's self-perceptions were changing. As I walked down the hall, I saw Edward sitting outside the art room in time-out. This scene had played out many times in the past. Typically when I would speak, he would not, or he would mumble hello if I waited for his response. But this day it was different! For the first time, he called to me before I even approached him. "Hi, Susan. When are you going to pick me up today? I brought my books back…." These and many more words came pouring out of him, quickly and excitedly, before I had even said a word. I talked with him for a few moments, and as I walked away, I was struck by how his words had come spilling out, as if they had been bottled up and were suddenly freed. Clearly, Edward had much to share, and he seemed to know it.

Placement in Reading Recovery halted an unproductive literacy path for Edward. His lack of progress and his patterns of responding represented a path towards learned helplessness (Seligman & Maier, 1967) or passive failure (Johnston & Winograd, 1985). Clay (1991b) states that "it stands to reason that if children have difficulties and if we take…all who are low achievers, they are likely to have different problems, one from another" (p. 63). For a child such as Edward, instruction that was individually designed to meet his needs and to capitalize on his strengths empowered him to progress.

As I learned to work with Edward each day in Reading Recovery, I became increasingly aware of the dimensions of challenge, collaboration, and choice. By working within Edward's zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978), he was provided with just enough challenge, enabling him to learn, resulting in "self-perceived competence" (Gambrell & Morrow, 1996, p. 11). Within each of the components, he was given choices, promoting "self-perceived control" (p. 11). Our collaboration grew and became more productive because of careful observations, decision making, and scaffolding based on Edward's strengths and attention to the next few things he needed to learn—first through my guidance, and gradually through expectations that he would take control of tasks. Such "collaboration facilitates goal attainment and increases task engagement" (Gambrell & Morrow, p. 11). These factors of self-perceived competence and control, goal attainment, and engagement all relate to learners' self-efficacy and motivations and are critical considerations in relation to self-regulation. In these learning contexts, demonstrations and carefully designed experiences help students to understand that "competent functioning is often a result of using appropriate strategies rather than superior innate ability or just trying hard" (Pressley et al., 1995, p. 9). As success occurs, learners are motivated to continue to make efforts toward competency. Self-regulated learning occurs through this "fusion of *skill* and *will"* (Garcia, 1995, p. 29).

By the end of our time together, Edward was reading at a level typical of the end of the year in first grade, rather than the middle of the year when his time in Reading Recovery ended. He had surpassed most of the average students in his class, including Molly. The work that Edward and I did across many months is one representation of the dynamic role of emotions, motivation, and cognition, and it provides insights into the ways interactions and scaffolding influence changes in motivational and cognitive processing. Hopefully, throughout all teachers' careers, there will be children who force them to put aside ways of teaching and responding that have become almost automatic, forcing them to examine their beliefs and their teaching with fresh eyes. Edward did this for me. My interactions with Edward reminded me of a quote that I had forgotten but eventually came to know again. Pearson (1996) reminds us that we must expect every child to achieve and acknowledge what they bring to the context:

> A teacher's job…is always to bridge from the known to the new. There really is no other choice. Children are who they are. They know what they know. They bring what they bring. Our job is not to wish that students knew more or knew differently. Our job is to turn students' knowledge and the diversity of knowledge we encounter into a curricular strength rather than an instructional inconvenience. We can do that only if we hold high expectations for all students, convey great respect for the knowledge and culture they bring to the classroom, and offer lots of support in helping them achieve those expectations (p. 272).

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

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That children will be proficient readers and writers by the end of first grade.

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To ensure access to Reading Recovery for every child who needs its support.

Purpose

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Learning and Teaching at an At-Risk School

Diane Barone
University of Nevada, Reno

ABSTRACT

This multiple case study documents the literacy learning and instruction of 13 first-grade students in an at-risk school. It is part of a larger study that follows the students from kindergarten to sixth grade. In first grade, the majority of the focal students described in this report came from minority backgrounds, were poor financially, and were learning English as a new language. Their teachers were engaged in a comprehensive schoolwide accountability plan to improve the literacy learning and instruction in their school.

All of the focal children made progress by the end of the first-grade year but with notable differences in levels of literacy achievement. Observations about classroom management, instruction, and assessment are described in an effort to explain the differences in student achievement. The considerable influence of classroom instruction on literacy learning is documented, as well as the need for teachers to individualize instruction and customize the curriculum to meet individual needs. Case studies of two children's divergent paths to literacy are highlighted to demonstrate this effect of instruction on learning.

I anticipate that these descriptions will provide researchers, teachers, and school administrators with additional knowledge about how literacy instruction and learning may be enacted in at-risk schools such as the one described here.

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> Grandpa took Mary Ellen inside away from the crowd. 'Now, child, I am going to show you what my father showed me, and his father before,' he said quietly.
>
> He spooned the honey onto the cover of one of her books. 'Taste,' he said, almost in a whisper.
>
> 'There is such sweetness inside of that book too!' He said thoughtfully. 'Such things…adventure, knowledge, and wisdom, but these things do not come easily. You have to pursue them. Just like we ran after the bees to find their tree, so you must also chase these things through the pages of a book!' (Polacco, 1993, p. 30)

Wouldn't it be ideal if children came to reading enjoying "such sweetness inside of that book" and all books? And wouldn't it be even more remarkable if these children were learning to read and write in a school considered to be at risk?

My study of literacy learning and teaching took place in an at-risk school. My goal was to better understand literacy learning and instruction in such a setting. This work is important because while we know much about the depressing statistics on the teaching and achievement of children in schools with the at-risk label, we know little about the stories of their learning and instruction on a day-to-day basis. Moreover, this study is noteworthy because there are so few reports that document the reading and writing growth of children in these settings even though these school situations are common in the United States. As Neufeld and Fitzgerald (2001) state, "The need is great to describe and understand what happens with regard to these young at-risk readers" (p. 98). This need is especially pertinent for students who are new to English, since so much of their literacy learning and instruction is coupled with their learning of English. We know very little about how these children make progress in English reading (Garcia, 2000).

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review is organized into three sections. The first section describes issues related to schools and children considered at risk for school failure. The second section describes recommended literacy instruction for children in the primary grades and targets the importance of literacy learning in the first grade. In the final section, I review recommendations for literacy instruction for students who are learning English as a new language.

Issues of Being a School Considered At Risk

Howard Elementary School (pseudonyms are used throughout), the site of the study, is considered to be an at-risk school because of the children who are enrolled in it. Dalton (1998) states that "students who have been most dramatically failed by U.S. schools are those whose culture, languages, or dialects diverge from the mainstream of students and teachers" (p. 6). Moreover, Dillon (2000) wrote that "these students [from diverse cultural, social, and economic backgrounds and with limited English proficiency] are often not getting the support or experiences in school that they need to help them grow as learners and individuals" (p. 11).

Professionals in these schools are frequently described as having a deficit view of the students they teach (Garcia, 1996) because teachers focus more on what students do not bring to school (English proficiency, mainstream learning experiences, etc.) instead of what they do bring (their learning and experiential strengths). Wong-Fillmore (1991) expands on this idea by saying that

> when they [language minority students] show up in school, they are seen, not as children who speak different languages or who have different styles of learning, but as children who do not speak English, and who are therefore unprepared for school....In the eyes of many educators the real test of school readiness is English. (p. 43)

Moreover, teachers in schools that are labeled *at risk* frequently make assumptions about parents' lack of interest in their children's learning, which contributes to lower teacher expectations and lower academic learning. Lower teacher expectations about the learning of students, especially the learning of all students in a school, is directly linked to how teachers teach (Brophy, 1983; Contreras & Delgado-Contreras, 1991). As these teachers experience consistent frustration in their teaching endeavors, they tend to excuse themselves from responsibility and blame the students or their families (Allington & Walmsley, 1995).

Another characteristic of at-risk schools has to do with the nature of instruction. Frequently the educational experience for students in urban, poor settings consists of the teacher giving instructions, asking questions, repeating directions, making assignments, and then monitoring seat work (Haberman, 1991; Waxman & Padron, 1995). Sleeter and Grant (1994) and Moll (1998) note that these teachers prefer teacher-centered, large-group instruction where all the students work on the same tasks at the same time. Furthermore, they focus on basic or isolated skills as they feel compelled to provide these to children who they feel lack innate ability or the necessary background for more conceptually complex learning (Haberman, 1991; Nieto, 1999; Padron & Waxman, 1999). This kind of instruction proves to be counterproductive, as children learn lower-level skills but never engage in the quality interactions around print that result in long-term school success (Battistich, Solomon, Kim, Watson, & Schaps, 1995; Purcell-Gates, 1996).

The dismal results of these learning environments for students have been widely documented. Purcell-Gates (1995) wrote that "poor, minority, and most often urban children fall significantly behind their middle-class counterparts in their ability to read and write" (p. 2). Dillon (2000) noted that students in these high-poverty classrooms "have little desire to learn" (p. 11). Additionally, children raised in middle-class homes with educated parents do well academically, while children who do not share these backgrounds start school behind and stay that way throughout their schooling experiences (Connell, 1994; Donahue, Voelkl, Campbell, & Mazzeo, 1999; Juel, Griffith, & Gough, 1986; Snow, Burns, & Griffin, 1998).

While this bleak picture has dominated the literature, there are also stories of teachers and schools where this has not been true. Most notable among this work is the study conducted by Ladson-Billings (1994). She described how successful teachers of African-American children interacted with their students. From these teachers, she constructed a list of the characteristics necessary for a culturally relevant school. These characteristics included (a) providing educational self-determination (knowing what is right for learning and going after it), (b) honoring and respecting students' home cultures, and (c) helping African-American students understand the world as it is and equipping them to change it for the better (pp. 136–139). Her work demonstrates that children who are enrolled in schools with high concentrations of poor minority children can achieve at least as well as their suburban counterparts.

To summarize, most of the research focused on at-risk schools has documented a dismal picture of teaching and learning. Students in these schools are considered to be deficit learners and are limited to low-level instruction centered on basic curriculum; however, other studies describe different results for students when teachers view students as capable. These teachers take charge of providing students with exemplary instruction that respects their home culture and language.

Recommended Curriculums for Literacy Instruction and Learning

Once children enter school, classrooms become the most important context for successful literacy achievement. Teachers and their classroom environments are especially critical for children who rely on school for the majority of their learning. Classroom climate, particularly the relationship between the teacher and students, is important to students' academic success. Nieto (1999) recommends that teachers develop positive relationships with students and parents. Delpit (1995) and Ladson-Billings (1994) report a need for teachers who have high expectations for students and care about each child's academic progress. Nieto and Ladson-Billings view this type of nurturing environment to be just as critical as appropriate literacy instruction in enabling children to learn and demonstrate high academic performance. Likewise, McDermott's (1977) classic research reinforces the importance of having trusting relationships between a teacher and students because these relationships are more essential to student success than a specific teaching approach or strategy.

Caring teachers who create nurturing environments are important but not sufficient for successful literacy learning; the curriculum has an important role to play as well.

In *Every Child a Reader: Action Plan* (Hiebert, Pearson, Taylor, Richardson, & Paris, 1997), the authors expect that students in first grade will

- know letters and sounds before formal reading and spelling instruction begin.
- have a balance in instruction between phonics and meaning.
- have books that support their ability to decode and books that support their appreciation of meaning.
- engage in strategies centered on comprehension.
- have opportunities to write.
- be in smaller classes with about 15 students.
- participate in assessment that is tied to curriculum.
- be members of many groups that are organized for learning goals.
- be given tutoring support if necessary.
- be engaged in reading at home.

Coupled with the above-mentioned research on early literacy are findings of the National Reading Panel (2000), which found support for skills-based instruction in primary grades. This instruction includes phonemic awareness, phonics, vocabulary, fluency, and comprehension.

In addition, Pressley, Rankin, and Yokoi (1996) studied effective first-grade reading teachers to learn about the components of their instruction. To the above characteristics, they added the need for classrooms filled with print, with a class library and children hearing stories read daily. For general teaching processes, they noted modeling of comprehension strategies, writing, the use of multiple grouping strategies in conjunction with the use of themes to organize instruction, and a sensitivity to individual student's needs. In reading, effective teachers stressed meaning-making activities, although there were word-level and decoding activities, too. They encouraged prediction, choral and shared reading, and the use of children's literature. The children engaged in writing that included writing stories and responses to stories read. The teachers informally assessed their students regularly on decoding and comprehension. In summary, these authors credit the students' success to their teachers' use of high-quality literature, attention to sound-symbol relationships, writing, infrequent use of the practice of round robin reading, along with efforts to meet the individual needs of their students.

While all grades in school are important to the learning development of children, first grade is often singled out as the benchmark year for literacy development. Snow, Burns, and Griffin (1998) stated that quality instruction in kindergarten and the primary grades is the single best strategy to prevent later reading failure. As early as the first-grade year, children identify themselves as good or poor readers (Hiebert et al., 1997). Additionally, Alexander, Entwisle, and Horsey (1997) found that the precursors of school failure are established as early as first grade. Stanovich's research (1986, 1994) documented that learning to read in the early grades was necessary for success in all academic areas. Similarly, Juel's research (1988) recorded that a child who was a poor reader in first grade would most likely be a poor reader at the end of fourth grade. She and Stanovich both noted that children who were poor readers in first grade often had acquired little phonological awareness and that students who had poor phonological awareness were most often associated with poverty backgrounds. Summarizing this research, Baker, Kameenui, and Stahl (1994) stated that "diverse learners face on a daily basis the tyranny of time, in which the educational clock is ticking away while they remain at risk of falling further and further behind in their schooling" (p. 375).

Literacy Curriculum for Students Learning English as a New Language

For this study, it was important to consider the recommendations for literacy curriculum for students who are culturally and linguistically diverse because the majority of students at Howard Elementary School represent such backgrounds. Nieto (1999) discussed the need for a school or classroom to engage in demanding curriculums, respect a child's home language and culture, have high expectations for students, and involve parents. Garcia (1996) extended these suggestions by calling for a "responsive pedagogy" (p. 214) that would integrate students' values, histories, and experiences into the learning process.

Moving from more general characteristics, Moll and Diaz (1987) considered classrooms where Latino students developed into successful or not successful readers and writers. They discovered that teachers who made text meaning and comprehension the main goals of instruction produced students who excelled at reading.

In addition to these curriculum recommendations are suggestions for established routines and procedures so that second-language learners know what to expect in the schedule and can focus on learning (Peregoy & Boyle, 1993; Sutton, 1989). Having parents visit the class to share their expertise places parents in expert roles rather than being viewed as deficient (Abbott & Grose, 1998).

From this research background, I embarked on a study within the context of an at-risk school to study the literacy learning and instruction of 13 first-grade children. As I observed the students and their teachers, I needed to be mindful of the recommendations for exemplary literacy instruction and learning for children whose home language was English as well as those who had other home languages. I wanted to discover how teachers dealt with the complexity of teaching children to read and write when the majority were learning English as a new language and the teachers were expected to provide all instruction in English. I also wanted to discover how students responded to this instruction and how each one developed competencies in reading and writing.

METHOD

Design

For this research endeavor, I chose a multicase study design (Yin, 1994). This design provided the most appropriate frame to study literacy teaching and learning over an extended period of time. To learn more about the teaching and learning of literacy in an at-risk school, I identified 16 children in kindergarten and observed throughout their elementary school experience from first through sixth grades. Additionally, this design allowed for the exploration of literacy development without any overt manipulation of the classrooms (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 1994). The case children who were selected for this study provided a lens to the larger classroom environment by creating for me a focus for observations in each classroom. They provided a vehicle for an understanding of the literacy learning and instruction of all of the children in the classroom.

I established trustworthiness for this study by (a) conducting the study through the entire academic year to learn about first grade, (b) including the perspectives of the teachers and students, (c) gathering data systematically and consistently, and (d) sharing notes and summaries with the teachers for confirmation or additions to the data pool. These member checks secured confidence in the recorded observations. They also served as an opportunity to have informal chats about a focal child or the classroom in general.

By incorporating these strategies within this study, I was able to get an understanding of the children's development as seen from a variety of perspectives. The teachers' and children's perspectives allowed for the development of an authentic picture of the children's literacy development (Eisenhart & Howe, 1992) and of the instruction provided to them. After each observation, the observational notes or artifacts were assessed to determine each child's literacy development. An ongoing and routinely revised chart was kept for each child that highlighted literacy development. Additionally, a doctoral student observed each class weekly. We met routinely and discussed our independent observations to seek verification of our tentative findings.

Researcher Stance

I taught first grade for more than ten years before becoming a university professor; therefore, I entered this study with personal knowledge (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999) and strong beliefs grounded in research which document that children and teachers construct knowledge together (DeVries & Kohlberg, 1987; Vygotsky, 1978). I believe that literacy is a social enterprise grounded in communication (Rodriquez, 1999). Likewise, I view exemplary teaching and learning as a dialogic process shared by teachers and students (Wells, 1999). Therefore, I value teaching that includes the voices of students as well as the voice of the teacher.

I think that teachers provide the most appropriate instruction for children when they assess the knowledge that children bring to the classroom and develop instruction based on the strengths and needs of the students in their classroom (Dyson, 1993; Heath, 1983). While I believe that the teacher, not a specific program, is critical to the learning of students, I also know that certain literacy practices are more beneficial than others for beginning readers and writers (Pressley, Rankin, & Yokoi, 1996). I also believe that children who attend high-poverty schools can become readers and writers who can decode text and understand its meanings as well. I value teachers in such settings who have high expectations for students and help them achieve them (Padron, Waxman, Brown, & Powers, 2000).

Setting

The School

Howard Elementary is one of the oldest schools in a midsized urban school district in the western United States. The neighborhood surrounding the school is filled with homes, apartments, and public housing projects. Howard has always had a high enrollment of minority students. It has also been known for its low achievement test scores. Each year when test scores are published in the local newspaper, Howard is typically at the bottom of the list. For example, in the 1998 national report card on schools, Howard scored at the 27th percentile for reading, 26th percentile for math, and 32nd percentile for science.

In response to these low scores, Howard Elementary submitted a plan to the state that included a balanced reading program for the classroom and Reading Recovery as a safety net for struggling first-grade readers. (See Appendix A for details of the accountability plan.) In this plan, large blocks of time were set aside for literacy instruction: all morning for the primary grades, and all afternoon for the intermediate grades. Within their literacy block, teachers provided time for students to be read to; have shared reading, guided reading, independent reading, shared writing, interactive writing, guided writing, writing workshop, and independent writing; talk to and with other students; and attend to letters, words, and how they work.

Howard Elementary typically enrolled 600 students each year. The average daily attendance rate was 92% (the same as the district average), and the transiency rate was 43% as compared to the district's average rate of 33%. Of the children enrolled in this school, 60% were classified as learning English as a second language, and 8% were receiving special education services. Eighty percent of the school population received free or reduced-price lunches. Additionally, the school had a breakfast, lunch, and dinner program for students. Eighty-five percent of the children were classified as being of minority status—most often Hispanic (62%), who formed the majority of the student population in this school. Fifteen percent of the children participated in after-school care and 5% qualified for gifted and talented services.

The experience of the teachers in this school ranged from none to 10 or more years. Eight percent were new to teaching, 42% had between one to three years' experience, 24% had four to six years' experience, 5% had seven to nine years' experience, and the remaining 21% had 10 or more years' experience. The school had two reading consultants available to teachers for collaboration. One consultant worked in the primary classrooms. Reading Recovery was available to first graders. On Friday afternoons, the faculty participated in ongoing staff development that focused on the balanced literacy plan, including the elements noted in Appendix A, and other schoolwide issues.

The Classrooms

The observations took place in the 4 first-grade classrooms in the school. Approximately 15 children were assigned to each teacher. The state had reduced class size for first- and second-grade classrooms throughout the state; however, Howard Elementary did not have sufficient space for stand-alone classrooms. As a result, pairs of teachers were assigned to each first-grade room with approximately 30 students in each room. The classrooms were large enough for this number of students so they were not especially crowded, but they were not intended for a team of teachers. The addition of a second teacher's desk and a table for small-group teaching often made the rooms look cramped for space, and the noise level was often high.

An aide was assigned to each classroom for about one hour. Most of the aides were bilingual with Spanish being their first language. They often pulled a small group of children to work with who were not yet proficient with English.

Participants

Children

At the beginning of the kindergarten year, I identified 17 children. To identify the focal children, I met with parents to discuss my study and requested their permission for their child to be included. I also had the assistance of a teacher aide who spoke Spanish so that the parents understood the purpose of my study. During these first meetings, I spoke informally with parents about the early literacy experiences of their children.

Soon after the beginning of the year, one child, Nashon, moved and is not included in the analysis. At the end of kindergarten, three children left the school, which resulted in 14 focal children for the first-grade year. Of the remaining 13 children identified, six were boys and seven were girls. Eight of the children are of Hispànic origin, one is Filipino, one is African-American, and three are Caucasian. For nine of these children, English is their second language. Only three children had any preschool experience. For all 13 children, this was their second year at Howard Elementary, having completed kindergarten in the same school (see Appendix B).

Teachers

There were four sets of first-grade teachers. Kirby and Mears taught a combined first- and second-grade class. Mrs. Kirby had been teaching for four years, and her partner, Ms. Mears, taught for three years. Cullen and Adams formed a first-grade team. Mrs. Cullen spent five years teaching first grade, and Mrs. Adams had taught fourth grade for two years, art for two years, and first grade for two years. During the year, Mrs. Cullen had a baby and was absent from the room for six weeks. Shott and Sims formed another first-grade team. Mr. Shott had been in television broadcasting for 30 years before he became a teacher. He spent the majority of his seven years' teaching in the primary grades, and his partner, Mrs. Sims, taught in the primary grades for seven years. The last team of first-grade teachers was Messina and Denton. Mrs. Messina had over 15 years' experience as a first-grade teacher, and Mrs. Denton taught first grade for seven years. None of these teachers were new to teaching, and all had considerable time teaching in the primary grades.

Data Collection

The following data were collected: observations, interviews, and artifact collection.

Observations

I carried out observations in the first-grade classrooms once a week for a half-day in the morning, the time of day set aside for literacy instruction. A Spanish bilingual doctoral student served as research assistant and also carried out observations. She also helped me understand what the children said to each other when they conversed in Spanish.

During the observations, I most frequently acted as an observer (Jorgensen, 1989) in the classrooms. I found an unobtrusive location in the classroom and recorded the interactions taking place. To enhance my observations, I often moved just behind the focal children as they worked in small groups with their teachers.

I recorded my observations and conversations between the teachers and students or among the students on a computer. Usually, I was able to type the words of the participants as they were uttered. I did not use a tape recorder as it would have been necessary to constantly move the equipment and this would have been disruptive to the students.

Interviews

I conducted formal interviews at the beginning and end of the year. During the interviews I talked to the teachers about their goals, how they felt about the year with respect to literacy instruction and learning, and the progress of the focal children. I also informally interviewed teachers periodically throughout the year.

Artifacts

I collected student work on most visits to the classroom. I made copies of story or journal entries along with worksheets. Sometimes I transcribed exactly what a child was reading, using a technique similar to taking a running record (Clay, 1993). I also transcribed the conversations between teachers and students in small-group and whole-group instructional settings. Additionally, I made copies of the informal assessments, most often running records, taken by the teachers.

Data Analysis

The data that were collected through observations, artifacts, and interviews were analyzed using an interpretive approach. I was seeking an understanding of the teaching and learning that occurred in these settings. As data were collected, I constantly searched it to create a literacy profile for each child. I also asked the teachers to share information about the literacy development of each child throughout the year. These recounts provided a fuller understanding of each child. Through this dialogue, I was able to triangulate my data and enrich my observations by the added insights of the teachers.

Periodically, I made cross-case comparisons among all of the children in the study to note similarities and differences in literacy development. I completed these comparisons by scrutinizing each child's literacy chart and products, as well as my observations and discussion notes. In addition to the close focus on the children's literacy development, I recorded the structure of the classroom and how it was designed to facilitate the literacy learning of students. I also described the literacy strategies that the teachers used in providing instruction.

As a result of continuous searches through my field notes and through discussion with the teachers, principal, research assistant, and aides, broad patterns of classroom learning emerged. These patterns crossed all learning situations and helped to describe the instruction and learning that occurred in these classrooms. The conversations, observations, and searches also enabled me to identify struggles and challenges that the teachers faced as they taught the children in their classrooms.

RESULTS

Summary of Literacy Instruction Across Teachers

As outlined in the accountability plan (see Appendix A), all students were expected to develop into grade-level readers and writers. To that end, all primary-grade teachers blocked the entire morning for reading and writing instruction. There were no special classes scheduled during this time, and there were few interruptions from intercom messages. (See Table 1 for an overview of the literacy instruction that occurred in these rooms.)

To help teachers realize what grade level might be, a text gradient guide was developed within the school indicating benchmark levels for each grade. Importantly the level, rather than specific reading or writing strengths or needs, was seen as the criterion for grade-level reading and writing. Level 16, determined from Reading Recovery levels, was considered appropriate for end-of-the-year first graders. Teachers also assigned levels to stories in the basal texts and used levels to select stories from the basals rather than story content. In addition, they had numerous leveled books to use with students.

Because of the focus on levels, the teachers most often used running records for assessment. They pulled a child aside for this assessment while other children read in their small groups. The only other assessment that I observed was at the beginning and end of the year when teachers checked for alphabet recognition and sound-symbol correspondence of consonant sounds.

Table 1. Description of Literacy Instruction in First-Grade Classrooms

	Kirby/Mears	**Cullen/Adams**	**Shott/Sims**	**Messina/Denton**
Word wall	X	X	X	X
Handwriting	X	X		
Independent reading	X	X	X	X
Reading groups	X (ability –6)	X (ability –2)	X (ability –2 to 4)	X (ability –4 to 6)
Centers	X		X	X
Alphabet and sound/symbol instruction	X	X	X	X
LEA	X		X	
Journals	X		X	X
Shared reading	X		X	
Guided reading	X		X	X
Story time	X	X	X	X
Interactive writing	X			
Reading buddies (5th graders)	X			
Spelling tests			X	X
Home reading	X		X	X
Computers				X

All of the teachers set up their rooms with tables for the students and centers and other workspaces located at the edges of the classrooms. Each classroom had a library and a word wall. All of the first-grade teachers used independent reading, reading groups with students of the same ability based on reading levels, and directed phonics instruction. With the exception of Cullen/Adams, there was also a similarity across teachers in the use of centers, journals, and guided reading and in the expectation that students would read at home.

Of the first-grade classrooms, Cullen/Adams was the outlier with respect to literacy instruction. These teachers began each day with board work. For example, at the beginning of the year the children copied capital *A* and lowercase *a* on their papers and then they practiced making these letters. As they copied, they were expected to remain quiet and focused on this task. When the alphabet was completed over a few weeks, the children were then expected to copy short notes written by the teacher. For example, in October the children copied

> Today is Thursday. There are only 2 more days until Halloween! Today we are having a party! First, we have to work hard on this cold and rainy day.

When the children completed their copying, a teacher came over and checked their work for accuracy. When a child received an okay, he or she could then go to the library area and read a book.

The teachers generally expected the children to continue reading in the library for about an hour. As I observed children during this time, they most often chose several books and then glanced at the illustrations as they simultaneously talked to friends. Few children ever really focused on the text and attempted to read the book. Unfortunately, even if they had focused on the text, most of it was at a frustration level, and they would not have been able to read it and gain meaning.

After recess on most days, the teachers divided the class into two groups. Each teacher read to the children or guided the children through a story in their basals. These groups were large, with about 15 children in each group. After reading, the teachers generally had a worksheet for the children to complete that focused on a phonics concept. Often when I observed the children completing a worksheet, one child would read the paper for all of the children that were near and then decide what answer they should all mark.

The teams of Shott/Sims and Kirby/Mears emphasized shared and guided reading. Mr. Shott read stories to his students and helped them focus on vocabulary. Each day the children learned one or two new words from these stories.

Kirby/Mears relied on small-group instruction for the majority of literacy instruction. They also had their children partake in cross-age tutoring with a class of fifth graders.

The team of Messina/Denton emphasized computer connections to reading and writing. These teachers received a grant to support a technology literacy curriculum and they were also facilitators for the school. Each day students read a story, engaged in phonics activities, or wrote a story at the computer center.

Literacy Issues Identified by These Teachers

Throughout the year, the teachers talked to me informally about issues that they faced. Some of these issues centered on the children themselves. Mrs. Sims was concerned when children left and went to Mexico during the school year and, in some cases, over the summer. For example, Freddy left to go to Mexico for almost three months in the middle of the year. Later in the year, Freddy's mother came to school with an interpreter, as she wanted a list of things they should do with Freddy during his summer in Mexico. Mrs. Sims was angry about this. She related to me that she told them that "he should go to summer school, not to Mexico during the summer." (This school had received a grant to provide summer instruction in literacy for students who were not at grade level in achievement.) Her partner, Mr. Shott, was also frustrated with parents. He expressed frustration when children came to school hungry. He blamed the parents for not sending their children to school ready to learn.

All of the teachers said that it was hard to teach children who were not English speakers. Mrs. Denton said, "I spend lots of time teaching vocabulary. A lot of the children don't know the words in the stories." Ms. Mears concurred that she spent more time on vocabulary development than she might in another school, although she also talked about specific children who made remarkable progress. For example, she commented on a child who had just come from the ESL Intake Center (a center where children who are new to the United States go to learn sufficient English to be successful in public school settings) and was reading at Level 20 already.

What seemed to be most important for these teachers was finding appropriate materials for their balanced literacy program. While there were many books available, they were stored in a resource room. These teachers wanted the books to be in their rooms; they did not want to check them out. They also felt that more money needed to be spent on leveled books for the primary grades. This school had adopted the Accelerated Reading Program, and the teachers were concerned that the school was buying books for intermediate students rather than their students. Finally, they were frustrated that each basal text contained so many different levels; some were even beyond expectations for first grade.

Summary of Literacy Learning in Each Classroom

The focal question of this study centered on how these children developed literacy skills and knowledge by being members of these particular classrooms. The literacy learning achievement of each focal child is described in Table 2.

A particularly notable finding is that more than half of the children were still relying on predictable text to read with any fluency. When they moved to more decodable text, they read slowly and sacrificed meaning to decipher a word, behaviors that are not unusual for beginning readers.

Table 3 shows one end-of-year assessment of word knowledge in which the children were asked to spell the words *bed, ship, drive, bump,* and *when* (see Bear & Barone, 1998). These words provided an opportunity to see how children represented initial and final consonants, short vowels and long vowels, and

Table 2. Overview of Children's Learning at the End of First Grade

Anthony	• Able to represent short-vowel words • Relies on predictable text • Level 13
Bonnie	• Able to represent short-vowel words • Relies on predictable text • Level 12
Calvin	• Able to represent short-vowel words • Relies on predictable text • Level 16
Eric	• Able to represent long-vowel words • Independent reader • Developing fluency • Level 17
Freddie	• Able to represent short-vowel words • Relies on predictable text • Level 12
Heidee	• Able represent short-vowel words and experimenting with long vowels • Independent reader • Developing fluency • Level 20
Jaryd	• Able to represent short-vowel words • Reads word by word • Relies on predictable text • Level 17
Josie	• Able to represent short-vowel words • Independent reader • Level 20
Julio	• Able to represent short-vowel words • Relies on predictable text • Level 12
Lucero	• Able to represent short-vowel words • Relies on predictable text • Level 17
Maria	• Able represent short-vowel words and experimenting with long vowels • Independent reader • Developing fluency • Level 20
Maritza	• Able to represent short-vowel words • Relies on predictable text • Level 14
Sandra	• Able to represent short-vowel words • Relies on predictable text • Level 14

Table 3. Word Knowledge Development at the End of the Year

Student	bed	ship	drive	bump	when
Anthony	bad	siq	dive	buq	win
Bonnie	bed	hip	drv	bip	yin
Calvin	bed	sep	briv	bop	wen
Eric	bed	ship	jrive	bump	when
Freddy	bed	heb	hra	bob	wen
Heidee	bed	ship	brive	bop	whan
Jaryd	bid	ship	grive	bamp	wen
Josie	bed	hip	jrive	bup	win
Julio	bed	chep	drav	dop	when
Lucero	bed	hebe	driv	bump	win
Maria	beb	ship	drive	bupe	went
Maritza	dab	sup	daov	bub	wint
Sandra	bed	sep	drif	bap	wen

digraphs and blends. All of the children had acquired the ability to write words using initial consonants and short vowels, and a few were experimenting with long vowels.

Interestingly, despite the variations in literacy instruction in each room and the entry-level literacy knowledge of the children, all of the focal students were representing words very similarly. Even more surprising were the few differences noted between the children who learned English as a new language and those who did not. While the children varied in reading levels from a low of 12 to a high of 20, there were few real differences noted in their representation of words. Eric was the most proficient, but he was still not sure about writing the blend *dr*.

Anthony, Eric, Heidee, and Maria started the year only understanding the relationships between letters and sounds; however, Eric, Heidee, and Maria demonstrated the most significant growth. They developed into independent readers and writers who were also beginning to be fluent. An example of this development is evident in Heidee's writing throughout the year. In one of her

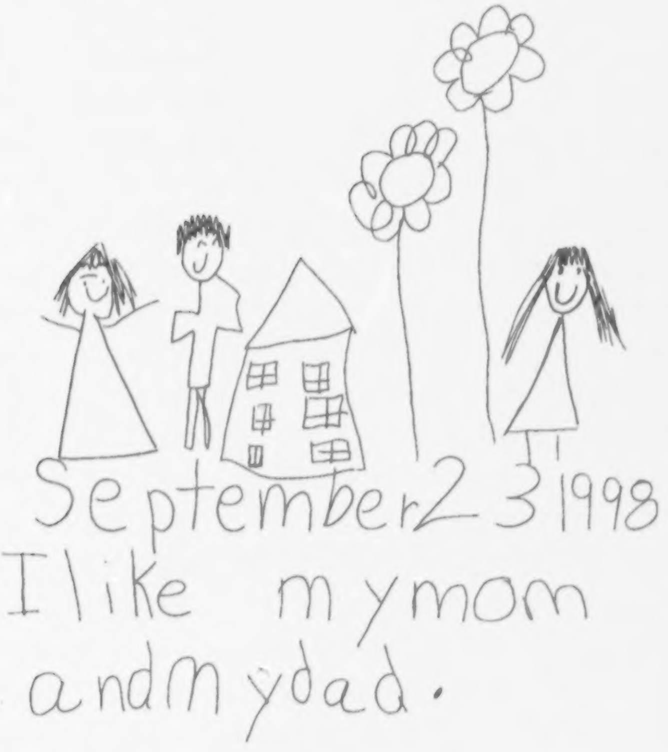


Figure 1. Heidee's Journal Entry (First Grade, September 23, 1998)

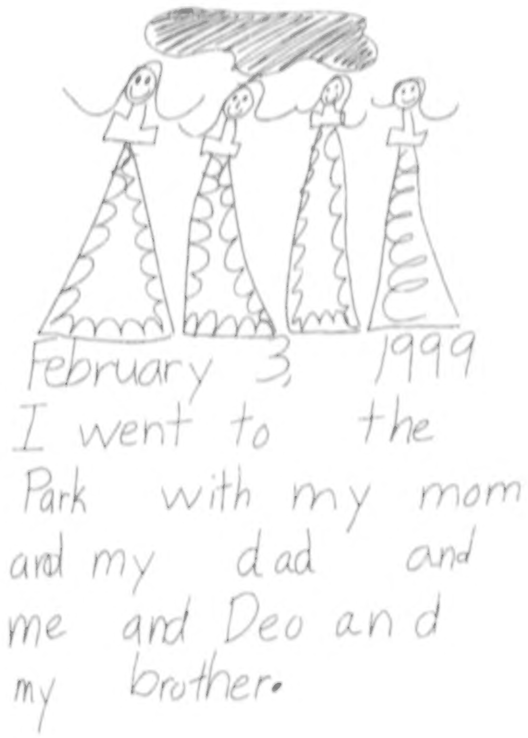
September23 1998
I like mymom
andmydad.

first journal entries in September (see Figure 1), she was able to write a whole sentence with punctuation and capitalization and all words, including the long vowel word *like*, spelled correctly. This is remarkable, for in Heidee's kindergarten, no opportunities were given for children to write other than to copy words from the board.

In February, Heidee was still writing only one sentence in her journal, but she was now filling the whole page by using the word *and* (see Figure 2).

By April, Heidee expanded on her single sentence writing. She wrote about going to school and seeing her cousins. She then added a sentence with the names of her cousins. Her teacher responded to her content and asked, "Do they live near you?" Heidee responded that they did not. By the end of the year, Heidee was using her journal to engage in conversations with her teacher. She checked her journal each day to see what her teacher had written to her.

Figure 2. Heidee's Journal Entry (First Grade, February 3, 1999)



February 3, 1999
I went to the
Park with my mom
and my dad and
me and Deo and
my brother.

Calvin started the year with Reading Recovery, leaving his classroom each day to work with a Reading Recovery teacher for 30 minutes. As Calvin worked with this teacher, he learned to pay attention to the sounds in words as well as meaning. He was slow when he read a book for the first time, but with rereading, he became more fluent. He told anyone near to him, "I love reading." Even though he was engaged with his Reading Recovery teacher's instruction, he found working in his classroom more difficult. He struggled with the copying task that was expected each day. For example, in February he was to copy and complete the following:

> Happy Tuesday morning!
> Today is February 16, 1999.
> Yesterday was President's Day.
> This weekend I…

It took him almost an entire hour to complete the copying, and as a result he infrequently went to visit the library. The teachers expected the children to copy these sentences and to include all capitals and punctuation. If there were any errors, the children were required to correct them. It was clear by watching Calvin write that this was not something he wanted to do. He often leaned on his arm, yawned, and dropped his pencil. Each time he stopped copying, it would take him almost a minute to begin writing again. By the end of the year however, Calvin was considered to be right at grade level and could read books at a Level 16.

There were also several children who did not achieve grade-level expectations at the end of the year. Bonnie, Freddy, and Julio were only able to read Level 12 text satisfactorily; all were learning English as a new language. Freddy came to first grade speaking Spanish predominantly. He found ways to avoid interacting with the teacher in kindergarten and he talked to his friends only in Spanish. He also spent approximately three months of each school year in Mexico. Starting first grade was not easy for him. He was unable to write his name at the beginning of the year and he recognized only the letter *F*. In his early journal attempts, he just drew pictures (see Figure 3).

When his teacher read, he always moved to the back of the group and fooled around with his friends. Freddy and his teachers were upset with his inability to spell the words on the spelling test given the first week of school. Freddy used random letters to spell words like *cat* and *hat*. His teachers also complained that he never brought his homework to school. He would say to them, "I worked at it but I forgot it." Freddy was able to work with the ESL aide for extra help with reading, but he did not qualify for Reading Recovery.

Freddy's teachers were surprised at his abilities when he returned to their classroom after a 3-month absence. They thought he would have lost what they had taught him, but he came back "at the same place as he was before Christmas." Later they found out that he had been enrolled in school while he was in Mexico. By May, he was working with the teachers and not hiding behind other children. On the daily dictation task, he was able to record short vowel words and read them as well. He pointed to the words while he read with his teacher. His teacher stayed close to him as he read and helped him with any difficult words. He was also willing to write in his journal, although most of his entries were single sentences. Freddy's end-of-the-year journal writing demonstrated these abilities (see Figure 4).

Freddy was not considered to be at grade level in literacy but he did make amazing growth during this year. He was now able to converse in either Spanish or English. He read with the support of his teacher, and others could read his writing. Freddy also understood how to represent words with short-vowel words and experimented with long vowels and multisyllabic words as seen in his journal entry.

Figure 3. Freddy's Journal Entry (Early First Grade)

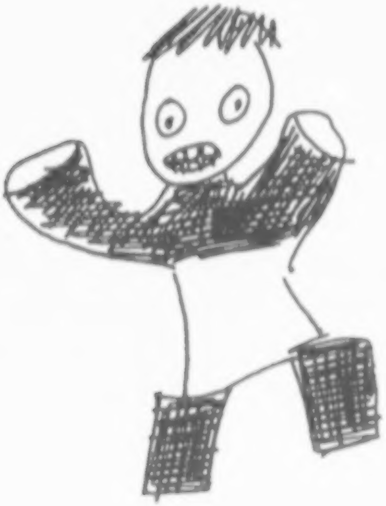
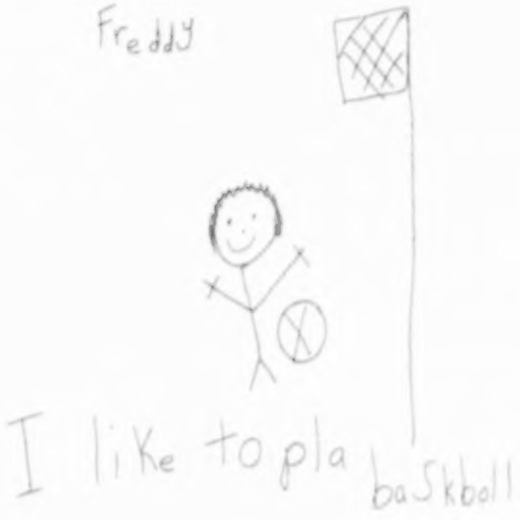


Figure 4. Freddy's Writing (End-of-Year First Grade)


Freddy
I like to pla baskboll

Freddy was not unlike the other children who were still considered below level in literacy at the end of the year. They all made progress, especially in moving from speaking Spanish almost exclusively to being able to use English and Spanish for conversational and academic experiences; however, they were still struggling with their ability to decode words with any pace or rhythm, and they struggled with comprehension.

Overall, at the end of this year, six children were considered above level in their reading (Eric, Heidee, Jaryd, Josie, Lucero, and Maria); of this group of children, Heidee, Josie, Lucero, and Maria had entered school learning English as a new language. One child, Calvin, was considered right at grade level and came from an English-speaking background. The remaining six children—Anthony, Bonnie, Freddy, Julio, Maritza, and Sandra—were below grade level. Of this group, Anthony was the only child with English as his home language.

When comparing the children's academic achievement and classroom placement, there were some interesting results. The teams of Kirby/Mears and Messina/Denton each had two focal children. There were no significant changes in rank for these students throughout the year: high-achieving students continued to be high achieving (Heidee and Eric), and low-achieving students remained low (Julio and Sandra). In the Shott/Sims classroom, only one of the focal children completed the year below grade level (Freddy), and he had missed almost three months of school. In the Cullen/Adams classroom, all of the focal children completed the year below grade level. This result occurred even though three of these children also had the support of a Reading Recovery program. And finally, none of the focal children were recommended for special education assessment.

TWO CASES

The two cases that I have chosen to describe in greater detail are children who were both considered advanced in literacy learning in kindergarten. Heidee came to school with a home language that was not English, while Anthony only understood English. Heidee was considered to be above grade level at the end of the year based on her reading level of 20. Anthony ended first grade below grade level with a reading level of 13 even though he was the most proficient in literacy in kindergarten. The outcomes of these two children run counter to the research that documents that children with sufficient phonemic awareness in kindergarten continue to be successful in first grade and beyond, and that children who do not share the language of the school tend to struggle with reading (Juel, Griffith, & Gough, 1986; National Reading Panel, 2000; Snow, Burns, & Griffin, 1998).

Heidee

At Home

Heidee's father described her home literacy experiences. He said, "She loves to read and write, just like her brother. She is always watching him. She wants me to read to her every night and when we go to a movie she compares the book and movie." At the beginning of kindergarten her favorite books were Walt Disney books. He also talked about language use in the home. He said that he only "speaks Tag at home so that she will know both languages. My older children are fluent in both languages and I want that for her." Clearly, Heidee's home has a rich literacy tradition, centered in book-reading episodes that occurred in her home language.

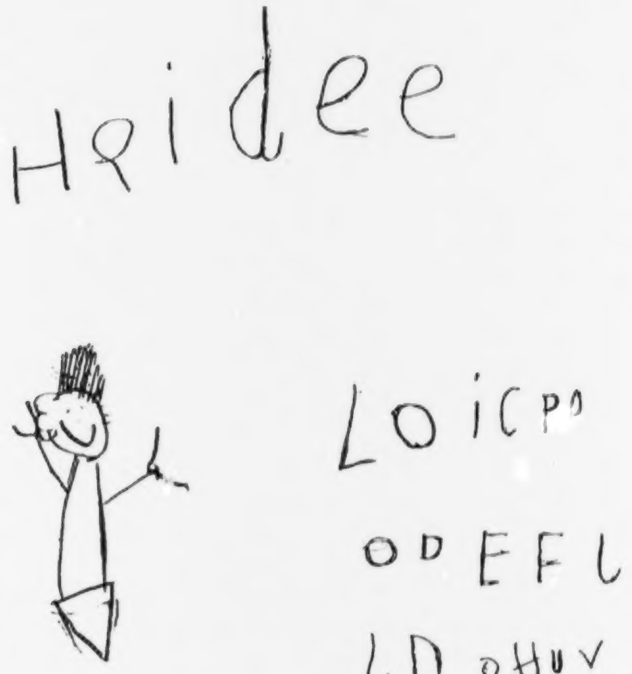
Kindergarten

In kindergarten, Heidee was treated as though her only language was English. Perhaps because her home language was not Spanish, her teacher did not see her as a second-language learner. And unlike the children whose home language was Spanish, Heidee could converse with the bilingual aide only in English. All instruction in this class was in English, and the children were expected to respond to the teacher in English regardless of home language.

At the beginning of the year, Heidee was very quiet. Her teacher described her as "very bright, very quiet, works hard, and wants to be on top." When I observed her while her teacher was reading to the class, she did predict what might happen in a story when prompted by her teacher. Her answers were not extensive, but she knew what animal would be on the next page in *Brown Bear,* for example. By November, she was able to write her first name, draw a self-portrait, and use letter strings for writing (see Figure 5). She also talked quietly to the teacher when she was called upon. She did not talk to other students and she never volunteered to answer a question posed by the teacher.

In March, Heidee's teacher experimented with a new literacy strategy by having each child determine the words they wanted to learn to read. Heidee decided that she wanted to learn all of the names of the children in her class. By the end of March, she was able to read and spell all of their names. She willingly read these names to the fifth-grade student who came into the room to listen to the kindergarten students read. She could be overheard reading her words to herself as she practiced, although unlike other students she did not read to any of her classmates. She was also willing to contribute during interactive writing. She told her teacher, "I hear an *f* at the beginning of *for.*" Later, she spelled *pizza* for the story that was being created.

Figure 5. Heidee's Early Writing (Kindergarten)



At the end of the year, Heidee refined the spelling of her name so that it was an automatic process to write it. She demonstrated sound-symbol knowledge in her writing by correctly representing the initial consonants in words. She was beginning to track text in simple, predictable stories. If she was asked to locate a specific word, she would read from the beginning of the book until she found it. She was successful with this task as long as there was minimal text on a page. And she was easily able to converse in English both with her friends and in academic tasks. She left kindergarten as one of only four children to have sound-symbol knowledge. Her teacher was very proud of her and said, "She is one of the strongest students that I had this year."

First Grade

Heidee entered first grade with adequate phonemic knowledge as demonstrated in her ability to match letters and sounds. She also was aware that stories needed to make sense as demonstrated in her predicting ability in kindergarten. Her teachers described her as a strong student from the very beginning of the year. As seen in Figure 1, she quickly developed as a writer and was able to represent all the letters and sounds in words and write in sentences by September of her first-grade experience. She was easily able to read the predictable text that her teacher shared with her in reading group.

By midyear of first grade, Heidee was able to represent patterns in words like the *ore* in *store* and the *th* in *with* (see Figure 2). Her teacher felt that she was at Level 13 in her reading and was at the top of first grade. She liked to talk about the stories that she read with her teacher in reading group, and she was able to find the main idea in stories during independent work time. For example, her teacher asked her to write the main idea of a story they had read during group time. Heidee wrote:

> The coach showed them how to dribble the ball and how to kick.
> Then the kids played soccer.

This was the main idea of a story that they had read about learning how to play soccer.

Heidee had also developed into a fluent reader. By midyear, she was able to read *Sylvester and the Magic Pebble* (Steig, 1969) with teacher support on the first reading. The children who were in Heidee's group completed worksheets and art projects based on this story. As they engaged in these activities, they had opportunities to reread the story and Heidee became fluent with it. By the end of the year, Heidee was routinely reading simple chapter books like *Little Bear* (Minarik, 1957).

At the end of the year, Heidee was considered to be above grade level in reading as determined by her reading level of 20. Her word knowledge is shown in Table 3. She was beginning to represent long vowels, as seen in her spelling of *drive*. Her teachers described her as "shy, a perfectionist. She blossomed after Christmas break. She ended the year reading at Level 20. She is sensitive and caring. She needs a lot of feedback and doesn't always believe in herself." Heidee thought that in first grade she could "do stuff like play" and she liked it.

Heidee also wrote in her journal daily, generally about her family. Her entries were typically one sentence in length, similar to those shared in Figures 2 and 3. There were few other opportunities offered for her to engage in writing.

Reflection

Heidee was most interesting to observe during these two years because not one of her teachers treated her as a second-language learner; they just accepted her as being quiet. While Heidee might be a quiet child as part of her disposition, she might also have been quiet because she was just learning English. Her teachers never considered her language background. Fortunately for Heidee, she learned English easily and was able to participate in the academic expectations of the class. Certainly the literacy strengths of her home helped her. As Heidee said, "My brothers play school with me." Her brothers may have provided sufficient instruction in English for Heidee to be receptive to her teachers' literacy instruction, and her parents' rich conversations and reading to her on a daily basis in the home language facilitated her understanding of reading and writing in English.

Anthony

At Home

Anthony lived with his parents and three sisters, one older and two younger. His mother said, "He loves to play school with his sister. He learned to count and his ABCs at Head Start. He looks at the words when I read to him and he can write his name." She also said, "He likes to watch television, especially the Power Rangers. He likes violent shows." As with Heidee, there were many literacy events happening in Anthony's home. His mother read to him routinely, she helped him with the alphabet, and she encouraged his drawing. He also played school with his oldest sister.

Kindergarten

Anthony's kindergarten experience was a bit unusual. He was in a classroom where two teachers split a contract, with each teaching for two days a week. One teacher, Tammy, talked to the children for an hour and then had them complete worksheets. The other teacher, Judy, read a story and then had the children move to centers where they often heard another story and did follow-up worksheets. Tammy constantly complimented Anthony for being so smart. Frequently, she questioned him with, "How do you know all of this?" Anthony basked in this praise and demonstrated his knowledge by being the first child to recognize and spell all of the names of his classmates. By January, Tammy related that Anthony "can retell a whole book accurately and he has memorized many of the books in the room. He knows the initial sounds of most words. He is the smartest kid in my class."

While Tammy felt this way, Judy did not. She was often frustrated when Anthony blurted out answers. She constantly told him to "be quiet and give the other kids a chance." Anthony moved to the margins of his kindergarten class when Judy was the teacher. He infrequently completed assignments on these days, and he spent his time moving around the room avoiding academic tasks.

First Grade

Anthony entered the first-grade room of Cullen/Adams. As described earlier, these teachers were the outliers with respect to literacy curriculum among the four classrooms. Each day began with Anthony copying sentences from the board. He always wanted to be the first one done, and he would often begin this assignment the day before. He knew that it always started with, "Today is..." and he wrote this on several papers that he kept in his desk. When this activity was finished, children were dismissed to the library where they spent the next hour on independent reading. Even though Anthony was one of the first children to go to the library each day, he spent almost no time reading. He looked at books, talked to friends, and just wandered around. Each day his teachers reminded him to read, but he never did. His teachers often punished him for wandering by having him copy all of the words on the word wall.

This was truly unfortunate, for the teachers considered free reading in the library to be the centerpiece of their literacy instruction. Following is a sample of my field notes documenting his behavior:

> Anthony moves to the library. He takes a book and looks through it. He gets up and starts wandering. He sits next to a child and looks over at his book. He takes his comb and pushes it into the book. The child moves the book. Anthony gets up and wanders again. He goes over to a child and takes his book away, a book about monsters. He starts to look through this book about monsters by looking at each illustration. When he is done looking at the illustrations, he gets up and joins a group of friends. They talk and giggle. Teacher says it is time to clean up. Reading time is over.

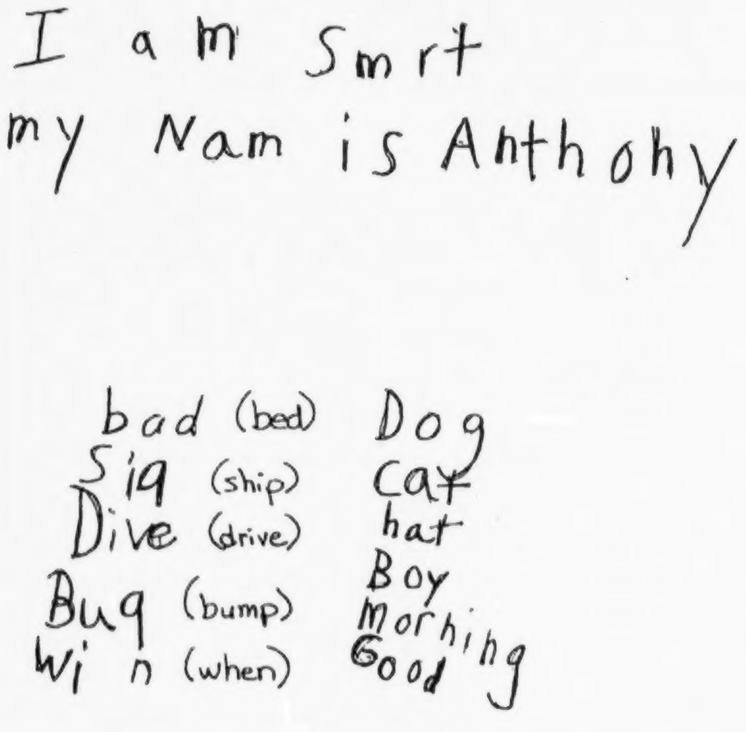
While there were many variables influencing the literacy outcomes for Anthony, his ability to almost never engage with any literacy activity in the classroom certainly hampered his development.

At the end of the year, Anthony was able to read books at Level 13. His teacher said that he had been doing better earlier in the year and "then he had a backslide. I spoke to his mom several times. She said there had been significant changes at home with his dad moving out. So that is why he didn't do well this year." Anthony still considered himself to be smart, however, despite what his teachers thought. He wrote in his journal, "I am smart." He also showed me all of the words that he could write (see Figure 6). It was clear that he was now representing vowels in his words, although he still confused them (e.g., *a* for the vowel in *bed).*

Reflection

While Heidee was engaging to watch, Anthony was frustrating. He brought so

Figure 6. Anthony's Writing (First Grade)



I am Smrt
my Nam is Anthohy

bad (bed) Dog
Siq (ship) Cat
Dive (drive) hat
Buq (bump) Boy
Wi n (when) Morhing
Good

much literacy knowledge to his kindergarten and first-grade experiences; however, only one teacher, Tammy, was able to engage him with classroom activities. His first-grade teachers, especially, did not engage him with literacy. He complied with the copying tasks, but he did them without enthusiasm. And although his teachers valued independent reading, he never engaged with a book during this time. He avoided any serious involvement with any book that was in the classroom library. The synergy of Anthony's literacy instruction, and his reaction to it, left him as a below grade-level reader by the end of first grade. Coupled with this below grade-level status, Anthony had learned to exist in the margins of the classroom. He resisted many of the activities provided by his teachers, and he minimally complied for the others. Anthony's rich home literacy background and his phonemic knowledge in kindergarten were not sufficient for him to be a successful first-grade reader and writer. His resiliency and identity as a learner will be interesting to watch as he moves through elementary school.

DISCUSSION

Before engaging in the discussion of this study, it is important to consider its limitations. This study was centered in the first-grade classrooms in one school. Teachers and researchers may find commonalities between what was discovered here and in their experiences, but these results are not meant to be generalizable. Additionally, I only studied the in-school experiences of 13 children. Some of the variability in their literacy development is certainly tied to their in-home literacy experiences (Purcell-Gates, 1996).

Classroom Organization and Teacher Beliefs

The teachers organized their classrooms for instruction and utilized a variety of groupings for instruction. The majority of these classrooms were places where the children knew the expectations for behavior and learning, and they respected them. The establishment of daily routines early in the year helped all of the children, especially those learning English, participate in the learning activities (Freeman & Freeman, 1993; Peregoy & Boyle, 1993).

The teachers' efforts in classroom management closely paralleled the recommendations of Pressley et al. (2001) and Wharton-McDonald, Pressley, and Hampston (1998). These teachers, with the exception of one team, had no real discipline issues and were able to group students appropriately and provide scaffolded instruction. Moreover, the rooms were inviting and positive. The teachers demonstrated through their hugs and ongoing private conversations with students that they cared about their students. They did struggle with ways to help the children take on more independence for their learning.

The team of Cullen/Adams was the exception. Perhaps because of Mrs. Cullen's 6-week absence (due to maternity leave), they had difficulty creating a well-organized, positive classroom with opportunities for reading and writing. Mrs. Cullen was frustrated by this situation, as demonstrated when she said, "The kids never learned the routines and there were discipline problems all year. I hated it."

The classroom organization variables are interesting to consider when pondering the literacy achievement of the children. In the Cullen/Adams room, the focal children made the least progress in literacy, and many required Reading Recovery support for this progress. This was the room that struggled with discipline. It is important to remember that these teachers also asked children to copy, and the majority of literacy instruction involved unstructured reading in the library. The interaction of classroom management and instruction certainly did not enhance the children's opportunities for learning.

In addition to classroom organization, all teachers were expected to have their students read and write at grade level by the end of the year. They accepted this challenge, and for the most part, they did not lay blame on their students for their home backgrounds; however, they did attribute deficiencies to their students. The teachers frequently talked about the children's lack of familiarity with English and the lack of vocabulary necessary to read stories. While this was clearly the case for the majority of children in this school, I rarely observed the teachers use strategies to help children move from their home language to English. They did use ESL aides to work with small groups of children for instruction; however, in other instruction the children were treated as though their first language was English. Mr. Shott was the only teacher who consistently tried to use Spanish when he engaged children in conversation.

Unlike the classrooms described by Haberman (1991) and Waxman and Padron (1995), in which teachers in high-poverty schools were predominantly direction givers, the teachers at Howard Elementary had some variability in their instructional organization. For example, in most classrooms, the day started with all of the children performing similar tasks with similar expectations. In the Cullen/Adams class the children all copied from the board, and in the Messina/Denton class the children participated in a dictation activity. In these activities, even though they were systematic, all children were expected to work independently, regardless of their literacy backgrounds. As a result, some children struggled on a daily basis with this instruction, and little to no learning resulted. Following these whole class activities, the children were assigned to ability groups for reading instruction. What was noticeable in each room was the limited time for students to engage in conversation with their teachers about their learning. Even in small-group instruction, the teachers seemed to be more focused on the way children pronounced words rather than their personal connections to a story being shared. This focus resulted in little time for children to talk about stories or for the teacher to address particular students' successes or frustrations with the reading process itself. In whole class and small-group settings, the students received little individualized instruction.

Literacy Instruction

The first-grade teachers certainly used aspects of a balanced literacy program in their classrooms. When comparing the strategies they used to those described in *Every Child A Reader: Action Plan* (Hiebert et al., 1997) and the report of the National Reading Panel (2000), certain strategies were used while others were not evident. All of the teachers provided time each day for the children to learn letters and sounds and how to spell words. The majority of instruction in these classrooms favored phonics instruction over meaning. Even when children interacted with stories, the focus was on decoding rather than comprehension. Comprehension activities typically centered on books that the teacher read to the whole class. The children did engage in writing on a daily basis, either in copy work or in journal writing. However, there was little time set aside for writing that would result in stories or informational text.

These classrooms employed a number of strategies recommended by Hiebert et al. (1997) and the National Reading Panel (2000). The classes were small; the teachers used running records for assessment on an ongoing basis; there were a variety of classroom groupings; tutoring through Reading Recovery was available for the lowest-ability readers; and the teachers expected that children would read at home. The only notable exceptions to the recommendations were the lack of writing and small-group instruction centered on meaning.

When comparing these teachers and the strategies they used to the work of Pressley, Rankin, and Yokoi (1996), there are more differences apparent than in the previous comparison. The teachers did have classroom libraries available to the children, but not all of the libraries had books that the children could read independently. Most of the children had stories read to them daily. The teachers did model oral reading, but they did not focus on comprehension or what a child might do when the reading did not make sense. They did have children read chorally each day from predictable text and from the stories in their basal texts. Teachers listened in to how the children were pronouncing words, and they helped them correct miscues.

Unlike the teachers described by Pressley, Rankin, and Yokoi (1996), these teachers focused more on decoding and phonics than on meaning. Additionally, they taught more to the whole class and paid little attention to the individual differences of children, except when they were in small-group reading instruction. Apart from this time, all children were held to the same academic expectations.

In constructing a gloss of the reading instruction in these classrooms, the major elements for instruction were phonics and decoding practice. This focus has been noted in other research, where children in high-poverty schools had instruction that also centered on lower-level skills (Battistich et al., 1995; Nieto, 1999). Similarly, the first-grade teachers at Howard Elementary focused on the basics as a way of developing grade-level readers. Their use of running records supported this focus on oral reading as well. When interpreting the results of the running records, they noted how a child pronounced words and the overall accuracy of their pronunciation instead of analyzing which sources of information (meaning, structure, and visual) were used and which were neglected, as Clay recommends (Clay, 2001). As a result, there was no attention paid to whether or not students comprehended what they were reading.

Literacy Learning

As noted earlier the children did grow in literacy knowledge throughout the year. There were notable differences in some of the rooms, however, with respect to literacy achievement. The children in the Lott/Sims room demonstrated the most consistent achievement, with all but one of the focal children reading beyond grade level. In this room, there was consistent phonics instruction. In the Shott/Sims room, in addition to consistent phonics instruction, Mr. Shott engaged the children in story reading each day; the children would converse with the teacher about the story's meaning and vocabulary (see Moll & Diaz, 1987; Wilkinson & Silliman, 2000). Perhaps this conversation was sufficient for the children to gather an understanding about the meaning of stories as well as how to decode the words in them. He also was the only teacher to try to include Spanish words in his discussion with children. In this way, the children saw him as valuing their home language, and they responded positively to this inclusion, as seen in their achievement.

Beyond these activities, the Shott/Sims room was the only class where children were allowed to enter the room before school began. Mr. Shott and Mrs. Sims welcomed their students into the room, talked with them, and provided books for them to read. Through their actions, these teachers created a classroom that valued personal relationships with students (Nieto, 1999).

Contrary to the success in this room were the dismal academic results in the room of Cullen/Adams. None of the focal children in this class were at grade level at the end of the year. By the end of the year, about 50 percent of the children in this room had or were receiving Reading Recovery support.

What was especially interesting as I observed in these rooms was that while reading levels varied from 12 to 20 at the end of the year, the word knowledge, as demonstrated in the children's writing, showed almost no variability. Why might this be? These classrooms certainly provided phonics instruction for these children, although in most cases this instruction was the same for all students. I surmised that because the instruction was not tailored to the strengths of the students, they did not make individual progress. For example, Eric came to first grade with considerable word knowledge and knowledge about books; however, the words he was asked to write each day did not build on any particular spelling pattern. He learned to spell the words, but he did not learn how to take the spelling patterns in these words to the spelling of novel words (Bear & Barone, 1998).

Additionally, none of the children engaged in much writing in any of these rooms. Therefore, the children had few opportunities to represent words using problem-solving strategies. They either copied words from the board or they wrote journal entries that did not require corrections; thus, they did not develop an eye to the way words were accurately represented other than through reading.

Similar results were documented by Durkin (1974/1975). In her research of children who learned to read before coming to school, she noted that unless schools were willing to build on students' individual strengths, it was meaningless for students to come to school with advanced abilities in reading and writing. She felt that it was necessary for schools to tailor their literacy curriculums to the strengths of their students. If they did not, then these early readers did not continue to develop in exceptional ways; they became like the other children in their classes who did not enter school with such understandings about literacy.

In this present study, the teachers taught about phonics and words to the whole class as if all the students were the same in their knowledge and experiential and language backgrounds. As a result, the children were very similar in word knowledge at the end of the year.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Unfortunately, even with systemic staff development, additional funds, smaller class sizes, and adequate materials, not all of the children were reading at grade level by the end of the year. Half of the focal children were reading at grade level; four of the nine students learning English as a second language were judged to be at grade level.

The teachers did implement some of the strategies shared in staff development. They started with skill-based instruction and a focus on decoding. Perhaps, given another year of staff development, they will build from this foundation and include more meaning-based activities and more time for writing; once these strategies are in place, they may consider and teach to the unique capabilities of their students.

The teachers clearly understood how to help children read the words in stories. While this is necessary for children to become independent readers, it is not sufficient for them to understand the essential meaning aspects of reading. These understandings are for the most part being left to the second-grade teachers to develop. This is not to fault the first-grade teachers who saw their major task as helping children learn how to decode print and therefore organized their entire curriculums to achieve this goal. It is just to say that their curriculums would benefit children more by truly being balanced in their orientations to skills and meaning (see for example, Purcell-Gates, McIntyre, & Freppon, 1995).

What can be learned from this study? First, first-grade teachers in a school considered at risk focused on letter- and word-level instruction even though ongoing staff development stressed more meaning-based activities. Second, the assessment that teachers used guided the instruction that they provided to students. In this case, they used running records only to note errors in oral reading without analyzing the types of cues that readers were using and neglecting, leading teachers to focus on decoding. Third, teachers, while being aware of differences in literacy knowledge among children, strove to bring all children to a satisfactory level of performance. Fourth, more complex understandings of reading and writing were pushed to the fringes of the curriculum. And fifth, language diversity, while being recognized, did not result in any major adjustments within the curriculum. All children, regardless of language background, were expected to talk, read, and write in English from the first day of school.

This study demonstrates that children, even in at-risk schools, can be at grade level or above by the end of the year. This is an important accomplishment in that first grade is such a critical year in determining the future success of students (Juel, 1988). It is worrisome, however, that so many of the below grade-level readers were those learning English as a new language.

Coupled with these achievements is the students' instruction and learning. For the most part, they would probably not be considered exemplary (Hiebert et al., 1997; Pressley, Rankin, & Yokoi, 1996). Most likely, they would be considered limited because of their narrow focus. The question still remains about how this narrow focus on oral reading and word and letter knowledge will contribute to or hinder these students' future literacy understandings. Will they ever get the opportunity to engage in conversations about text, or will their curriculums always be focused on low-level skills instruction? What exactly are the long-term results of such a limited first-grade curriculum?

This paper began with a quote from Polacco (1993), who described learning to read as discovering the sweetness inside of a book. Her characters talked about the "adventure, knowledge, and wisdom" (p. 30) that can be found there. The children at Howard Elementary did not learn about this sweetness. Instead, they learned about how sounds and symbols work and how to read words. Hopefully, these lower-level skills will provide the foundation for them to explore the sweetness that books have to offer.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX A

Howard Elementary Accountability Plan

(written by the principal)

- Friday afternoons must be used to enhance our instructional program.
- Can we guarantee that our scores will improve? How? I suggested that I would send out a schedule to be filled out to monitor the reading instructional program. There was a real concern that the mainstream teachers were not instructing all their students. A concern was mentioned that assistants and ancillary teachers were responsible for the reading instruction for the lower-achieving students. Reading groups MUST be rotated so the classroom teacher is instructing all students. Teacher assistants cannot be responsible for planning curriculum or instruction.
- We will be visiting [name of a school] to observe their balanced literacy program.
- We will have monthly grade-level meetings and your reading facilitator will meet with you individually at least monthly.
- The district will be testing this year's third-grade classes at midyear on the Terra Nova test. This will give teachers the opportunity to focus on the lower-achieving students to prepare for the test this spring.
- We have ordered approximately $2,000 worth of multiple sets of leveled books.
- We will shift our remediation focus from 5th grade to 3rd grade.
- We will pilot a reading test in February for Grades 2 through 6 and in April for K and 1.

APPENDIX A
continued

Fill out the schedule.

Scheduled time for:

________ reading to students (reading aloud)

________ reading with students (shared reading)

________ reading by students (guided reading/independent reading)

________ writing to students (shared writing/interactive writing)

________ writing with students (guided writing/writers workshop)

________ writing by students (independent writing/integrated learning skills)

________ talking to, with, and by students

________ letters, words, and how they work (attending to the visual aspects of print)

Time for balanced literacy

Kindergarten to Grade 3: 8:45–11:30 [165 minutes]
Grades 4 to 6: 12:45–3:00 [135 minutes]

APPENDIX B

Information About Focal Children

Student Name	Home Language	Preschool Experience	Home Literacy	End of Kindergarten Literacy	Teacher Assignment in First Grade
Anthony	English	Yes	Mom reads to him frequently and he follows the words as she reads.	Writes first and last name. Sound/symbol knowledge. Able to track memorized text. Uses book language to retell stories.	Cullen/Adams
Bonnie	Spanish	No	Mom reads to her occasionally.	Writes first name. Recognizes X and can sing alphabet song. Looks at books.	Cullen/Adams
Calvin	English	Yes	Mom reads to him occasionally.	Writes first and last name. Recognizes all letters except T and Y and can sing alphabet song. Looks at books.	Cullen/Adams
Eric	English	Yes	Mom reads to him frequently and he brings books from home to school.	Writes first and last name. Sound/symbol knowledge. Uses book language to retell stories.	Messina/Denton
Freddy	Spanish	No	No reading at home.	Writes first name as FRBPIE. Recognizes F. Looks at books.	Shott/Sims
Heidee	Tagalog	No	Mom and Dad read to her frequently.	Writes first and last name. Sound/symbol knowledge. Uses oral language to retell stories.	Kirby/Mears
Jaryd	English	No	Mom reads to him occasionally.	Writes name as FTAP/FTPA Recognizes 3.	Shott/Sims
Josie	Spanish	No	Mom reads to her occasionally.	Writes first name. Recognizes E, S, L, J, N, O, and L and can sing alphabet song. Looks at books.	Shott/Sims
Julio	Spanish	No	No reading at home.	Writes first name. Recognizes C, J, P, and M and can sing alphabet song.	Messina/Denton
Lucero	Spanish	No	Mom reads to her in Spanish.	Writes first and last name. Recognizes most letters except U, V, W, and Y. Uses oral language to retell stories in Spanish and English.	Shott/Sims
Maria	Spanish	No	Mom and Dad read to her occasionally.	Writes first name. Sound/symbol knowledge. Uses oral language to retell stories.	Shott/Sims

APPENDIX B

continued

Student Name	Home Language	Preschool Experience	Home Literacy	End of Kindergarten Literacy	Teacher Assignment in First Grade
Maritza	Spanish	No	No reading at home.	Writes first name. Recognizes B, M, P, T, A, and can sing alphabet song. Looks at books.	Cullen/Adams
Sandra	Spanish	No	Mom and Dad read to her in Spanish and English.	Writes first and last name. Recognizes most letters except U and W. Looks at books.	Kirby/Mears

Notes

- Reading was assessed by what the children did with books while they were reading independently. *Looking at books* indicates that the child turned the pages of the book and made no comments except to comment on an illustration. *Retelling using oral language* indicates that the child retold the story to himself or herself or a neighboring child by talking about the illustrations on each page. *Retelling using book language* indicates that the child retold the story using language that is particular to books, for example, "once upon a time." *Able to track memorized text* indicates that a child can read and point to text in short, predictable books like those published by the Wright Group.
- Alphabet and name knowledge was determined from teachers' assessments.

Making a Case for Prevention in Education

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ABSTRACT

Typically, students who are experiencing difficulty learning to read in the classroom are referred for long-term assistance to remedial or special education services. We examined what happens when another layer of assistance is added to this typical delivery model, this one provided before referral to long-term special education services is even considered. This model of preventing reading difficulties is informed by the construct of prevention used in the medical field and recasts assistance as a three-tiered process: primary prevention in the form of classroom instruction offered to all students; a secondary prevention offered to those students for whom classroom instruction is not enough; and finally, tertiary prevention provided to students who have not made adequate progress even after primary and secondary prevention measures have been employed. We hypothesized that the inclusion of this secondary prevention measure would dramatically reduce the numbers of children in long-term remediation services.

Reading Recovery was used as a case example of a secondary prevention measure to test this hypothesis. Data were gathered on 116 Reading Recovery students and 129 random sample children in first grade and fourth grade in 45 schools. Findings are promising and support the investment of resources in a short-term secondary prevention option for young children having literacy difficulties at the outset of schooling.

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In a poetic parable, Malins (1936) spoke of a community with a dangerous cliff over which many had fallen. Some called for a fence around the edge of the cliff to prevent the falls, while others argued for an ambulance in the valley to rescue the injured. In the poem, the cry for the ambulance carried the day even though a sensible few could hardly bear the nonsense.

> Then an old sage remarked: "It's a marvel to me
> That people give far more attention
> To repairing results than to stopping the cause,
> When they'd much better aim at prevention.
> Let us stop at its source all this mischief," cried he,
> "Come, neighbors and friends, let us rally;
> If the cliff we will fence we might almost dispense
> With the ambulance down in the valley." (p. 273)

The poem is analogous to the way that schools generally provide assistance to children with learning difficulties: usually providing help after the occurrence of a problem rather than at the first sign of trouble. As a result, by the time help arrives, the problem is often so serious that long-term support is needed, and there is little hope that the problem can ever truly be remedied.

In the early 1960s, for example, children who were not making progress with classroom instruction were either retained in grade level or referred to special services staff for evaluation and possible placement in special education. Now, 40 years later, there are few notable changes in these views toward problem learners. Remedial services through Title I and special education have become today's response to problem learners. Many primary children receive Title I remedial services throughout their elementary years. For others, Title I serves as a waiting area, providing interim services until the students' performance lags far enough behind their peers and they become eligible for special education services (Gaffney, 1998). Implicit in these decisions is the notion of waiting for failure to occur and then providing remediation. The possibility of prevention is overlooked. Ambulances are still being placed in the valley.

In fact, with a few notable exceptions such as Head Start, prevention has rarely been acknowledged as part of educational theory and practice. Perhaps the exploration of preventive moves in education has been slowed by some old ways of thinking, such as the belief that given enough time, children will mature into readers. Prevention has, however, long been a hallmark of the health and sciences field (Zins, Conye, & Ponti, 1988). In the section that follows, we will describe how a health sciences view of prevention can inform a framework for prevention in the field of education.

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR DEFINING PREVENTION

Caplan (1961, 1964), credited with providing a conceptual model for later prevention work, identified three levels of prevention: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Pianta (1990) used Caplan's model as a framework for placing special education into a continuum of prevention.

Primary Prevention

An example of primary prevention in the health field is measles inoculation. Primary prevention is available to everyone even though they have not been identified as having a problem. The prevention is offered because there is widespread agreement that doing so will prevent problems from occurring (Pianta, 1990). In schools, the equivalent to an inoculation is classroom instruction. Classroom instruction provided to everyone serves as the first line of prevention against subsequent problems and reduces their rate of occurrence.

Holdaway (1978) identified the following preventive measures against reading difficulties that are present in classrooms:

- sensitive observation of reading behaviors (using Clay's Observation Tasks as a guide)
- timely intervention as problems arise (day to day, moment by moment, individual when needed)
- growing independence in the learner
- early use of multi-disciplinary teamwork when learners are having difficulty

Few would disagree that effective classroom programs are needed as primary prevention (Snow, Burns, & Griffin, 1998). Good first teaching, however, must be paired with safety nets for children who need something extra (Fountas & Pinnell, 1999) because even with excellent staff development and well-trained teachers, some children will still need a secondary intervention to prevent future problems (Leslie & Allen, 1999).

Secondary Prevention

Secondary prevention is directed to a select group of the population who have been identified as having a greater chance of developing problems in a specific area. In the health field, for example, it is well accepted that the elderly are more likely to suffer consequences of the flu, so they are targeted to receive flu shots. Secondary prevention is selective and involves early diagnosis and treatment of problems before they develop into potentially handicapping conditions (Keogh, Wilcoxen, & Bernheimer, 1986). While effective primary prevention should reduce the incidence of the disorder and prevalence rates, effective secondary prevention should decrease the duration and severity of individual cases (Lorion, 1983).

Primary prevention, or classroom instruction, alone can not work for each individual child because it does not address the unique differences found among young learners. A secondary prevention allows early identification of potential problems, enabling the school system to intervene appropriately. Clay (1991) articulates this reasoning well:

> If we can detect the process of learning to read 'going wrong' within a year of school entry then it would be folly to wait several years before providing children with extra help. An earlier offer of effective help to the child might reduce the magnitude of reading problems in later schooling. (p. 13)

Tertiary Prevention

Tertiary prevention becomes necessary after the occurrence of serious and enduring problems. The most common forms of tertiary prevention in public schools are special education, retention in grade level, and long-term remedial services such as Title I. At the tertiary level the focus shifts from preventing problems to remediating them in order to lessen the effect of the problem as much as possible.

Federal funds are often targeted at the tertiary level in the form of special education and remedial programs, but usually there are no mandates or funding from the government for primary and secondary prevention (Pianta, 1990). This means, in effect, that a disproportional amount of resources are directed at the tertiary level of prevention in the education system. By contrast, in the medical field it would be unusual to focus so much attention on tertiary prevention while ignoring the opportunities for primary and secondary prevention. Indeed, if the overriding goal of a prevention perspective is to reduce the need for extensive tertiary services by providing effective primary and secondary services (Keogh et al., 1986), it would seem that money spent on earlier prevention would be a more responsible expenditure of education funds.

The Authors' Hypothesis

While there can be no guaranteed inoculation against future failure, we hypothesize that effective secondary prevention efforts in education can reduce the need for more expensive, long-term tertiary measures that are needed after the occurrence of failure. We view secondary prevention as

> the first action in a chain of interactions (or transactions) between the child (or family) and environment in which each causes the other to evolve along a new path. Children who experience early intervention

> may follow more preferred paths in all the social systems in which they live—family, school, and economy. (Barnett & Escobar, 1987, p. 396)

We are referring to secondary prevention efforts that include early identification of the learning process going wrong, followed by timely, effective, short-term intervening actions. These efforts reside within school contexts and are influenced by many factors within the school, including the quality of primary prevention practices in classrooms.

MAKING A CASE FOR SECONDARY PREVENTION IN EDUCATION

One of the earliest and most comprehensive explorations of the impact of secondary preventive educational programs was the Ypsilanti Perry Preschool Project (Schweinhart & Weikart, 1980; Weikart et al., 1978), designed to help economically disadvantaged children at high academic risk cope with school and adult life in mainstream society. A report on the Perry Preschool Project children through age 15 showed greater school achievement up the grades, fewer years in special education services, and greater satisfaction and aspirations by parents about the participating children's schooling than for children in the nonparticipating control group. The Perry Preschool Project also encouraged consideration of the cost benefits of prevention by citing issues such as retention, special education, Title 1, drop-out, future delinquency, projected lifetime earnings, incarceration, welfare assistance, use of social services, and increased possibility of participation in the labor force.

In the area of literacy, Juel's (1988) longitudinal study of children from Grade 1 to Grade 4 offers compelling support for the need for secondary prevention in schools. She found that the probability that a poor reader at the end of Grade 1 would remain a poor reader at the end of Grade 4 was very high (.88). If a child was at least an average reader in Grade 1, the probability that that child would become a poor reader in Grade 4 was only .12. Therefore, evidence is strong that poor first-grade readers almost invariably remain poor readers by the end of fourth grade. Conversely, average readers in Grade 1 are likely to be average in Grade 4.

Wasik and Slavin (1993) suggested that because remediation after the primary grades is largely ineffective, it may be easier to prevent learning problems than to remediate them in later grades:

> Considering how much progress the average reader makes in reading between the first and last days of first grade, it is easy to see how students who fail to learn to read during first grade are far behind their peers and will have difficulty catching up. (p. 179)

Waiting creates gaps or deficits, with serious consequences for a child's school achievement, personality, and confidence. When a child has practiced primitive skills and daily habituated the wrong responses, there will be blocks to learning (Clay, 1993a). Juel (1988) argues that it is hard to make up for years of lost experiences, citing the lack of success in comprehension studies with older readers.

Several researchers have argued for secondary prevention from a cost-benefit perspective (Barnett, 1985a, 1985b; Barnett & Escobar, 1987; Gaffney, 1994; Graden et al., 1985; Keogh et al., 1986; Schweinhart & Weikart, 1980; Weikart et al., 1978). Barnett and Escobar argued that intervening early with disadvantaged children can yield an economic return in reductions needed for special education services, reductions in crime and delinquency, increased employment and earnings, and decreased dependence on welfare. They also cited outcomes for which dollar values could not be estimated, such as increased educational attainment and decreased births to teenage mothers.

There is growing evidence that intervening early with secondary preventions does indeed provide promising results (for example, Clay, 1979). In a longitudinal study of children receiving tutoring in first grade (Vellutino et al., 1996; Vellutino, Scanlon, & Tanzman, 1998), 67.1% of poor readers who received daily one-to-one tutoring scored within the average or above average range on standardized tests of reading achievement after one semester of tutoring. Results also confirmed that early, labor-intensive secondary prevention can be reasonably effective in distinguishing between children who are classified as learning disabled and those who need not be so classified when provided adequate intervention.

Several other examples of early secondary prevention have shown some measure of success within the past decade (Hiebert, Colt, Catto, & Gury, 1992; Juel, 1996; Pinnell, Lyons, DeFord, Bryk, & Seltzer, 1994; Slavin, Madden, Karweit, Livermon, & Dolan, 1990; Taylor, Frye, Short, & Shearer, 1992). These quite different interventions—including Success for All, Reading Recovery, a restructured Chapter 1 program, a small-group in-classroom program, and a tutoring program—all demonstrated that children with reading difficulties can benefit from early attention and intensive tutoring (Leslie & Allen, 1999).

Pianta (1990) identified three requirements for implementing prevention programs in schools: (a) identifying and defining the outcomes to be prevented, (b) developing programs for screening and monitoring risk, and (c) discussing the scope of services to be offered by schools. When investing in prevention programs, systems are taking out insurance to protect against future failure. The amount of the investment depends on how much protection the system needs and wants.

In summary, there is evidence of the benefits of prevention from a wide variety of studies. There is also evidence that waiting yields gaps that are difficult to close. In this paper we propose to examine the case for secondary prevention using the example of Reading Recovery, a short-term literacy tutoring program designed for the lowest-achieving students who have fallen behind their peers after one year of classroom instruction.

EXPLORING SECONDARY PREVENTION: READING RECOVERY AS A CASE EXAMPLE

Any program that claims to be preventive must be able to demonstrate that the treatment has an effect on the problem (Morris, 1999). Therefore, in our examination of Reading Recovery as an example of secondary prevention, we questioned whether or not Reading Recovery prevented or substantially reduced literacy difficulties among the children served over time. We also questioned how the literacy performance of these children aligned with the average class performance in their school settings. In order to investigate these questions, we used a longitudinal research design. Before we describe the methodology we would like to review some challenges of conducting this type of research.

Acknowledging the Challenges of Longitudinal Research

Longitudinal intervention research can be classified into three categories: efficacy, effectiveness, and efficiency (Feinstein, 1977). Efficacy studies are used to determine if the intervention works under optimal conditions. While they are informative, they do not address the application in naturalistic settings without external controls. Effectiveness studies, however, assess whether the intervention works in the field and can be integrated into existing systems. Efficiency studies refer to analysis of costs and benefits of the intervention. The study reported here assessed effectiveness, examining whether the intervention worked in schools and if the effectiveness extended beyond the end of the intervention or treatment (Black & Holden, 1995).

Two concerns about the validity of longitudinal studies involve sample selection and attrition (Barnett & Escobar, 1987). Target populations need to be defined so that the population actually represented by the sample is clear. In this study, two target populations were selected: Reading Recovery students and non-Reading Recovery students. The Reading Recovery target population included first-grade children across the state who were tested for Reading Recovery at the beginning of the school year and subsequently met the requirements for successfully discontinuing from Reading Recovery services. The target population for the non-Reading Recovery random sample group (to represent average literacy performance) included all first graders not served by Reading Recovery in the schools selected for the study. Procedures used to select samples from each of the target populations are described later in the methodology section.

To offset problems of attrition in longitudinal studies, caution was taken to produce a sample for analysis that did not differ from the initial sample. Both the magnitude of the attrition and the pattern of the attrition were considered, as suggested by Menard (1991). In this study, analyses included only the subjects remaining three years later, at the end of Grade 4. The remaining sample was compared to the initial sample, and the pattern of attrition was insignificant.

The study presented here met the general definition of longitudinal research (Menard, 1991). First, data were collected for each subject at five distinct time periods. Second, subjects were comparable from one period to the next. And finally, analyses included comparison of data across periods.

This study was designed to describe patterns of change, not to establish causal relationships. Change was explored across two major dimensions: student performance data on a variety of measures and classroom teachers' self-reported perceptions of the children's literacy behaviors in their classrooms.

Inherent problems of longitudinal studies—sampling procedures, attrition of subjects, cohort differences, and testing effects (Nesselroade & Baltes, 1974)—are acknowledged. Because of these and other potential limitations, a field-trial study with a different cohort of subjects was conducted, beginning one year prior to the study reported here. Some changes were made in sampling procedures and data collection procedures based on field-trial data, yet findings in both studies were similar. We acknowledge that, ultimately, only findings that emerge strongly and repeatedly across multiple studies employing different methods can be trusted (Walberg & Reynolds, 1997).

Reading Recovery as an Example of Secondary Prevention

Children identified and selected for Reading Recovery service have already had one year of classroom instruction in kindergarten and, after exposure to that primary prevention, have emerged from the whole population as children who are beginning to experience reading and writing difficulties. These children receive Reading Recovery lessons from a specially trained teacher for an intensive 30 minutes daily for approximately 12 to 20 weeks. Each child's series of lessons is uniquely designed and individually delivered to suit that child's needs and progressions. The ultimate goal is to enable these young readers and writers to use strategies effectively and independently so that they can function successfully within an average literacy setting in their classrooms without the need of a tertiary or remedial program. In other words, the aim is a return to primary prevention—good classroom programs for all children.

Reading Recovery uses systematic and simultaneous replication studies to document program outcomes for all children served, adhering to duplication of methods, instruments, and time lines across many sites. Replication is important because it allows scientists to verify research results (Frymier, Barber, Gansneder, & Robertson, 1989).

There is also evidence of subsequent gains in follow-up studies in New Zealand (Clay, 1993b), in the United States (Askew & Frasier, 1994; DeFord, Pinnell, Lyons, & Place, 1990; Jaggar & Simic, 1996), and in Australia (Rowe, 1995). The study presented here adds to the exploration of secondary prevention by examining subsequent gains of former Reading Recovery children.

Rationales for Design Decisions

Given the cautions expressed by authorities in the previous sections, it is important to provide rationales for decisions related to design and methodology of longitudinal studies. Relevant decisions are explained below.

Conducting Multiple Studies

A series of cross-sectional studies of former Reading Recovery children (Askew, Wickstrom, & Frasier, 1996) preceded the longitudinal study presented here. While these cross-sectional studies provide compelling information, longitudinal studies were needed to observe change over time by following intact groups of children (Goldstein, 1979).

Neither a cross-sectional study nor a single longitudinal study can eliminate questions about group membership. Problems can be remedied somewhat through designs in which the recruitment of multiple samples is separated in time (Black & Holden, 1995). Therefore, a field study with different samples began a year prior to the study presented here in order to test methods and to serve as a basis of comparison relative to outcomes.

Use of Average Band as a Comparative Measure of Average Progress

There are several ways to assess the stability of program outcomes. In these studies, Reading Recovery students' subsequent literacy progress was compared with progress of children defined as performing within an average band of achievement in the same schools.

In order to test whether former Reading Recovery students continued to demonstrate average levels of achievement after first grade, the design called for a validation of average progress. Using a randomly selected group of non-Reading Recovery children, means for literacy measures were used to create an average band of one standard deviation above and below the mean. The band was used to define average performance and to describe the progress of former discontinued Reading Recovery children relative to that definition of average in Grades 2, 3, and 4. In addition to aggregated data, the number or percentage of individual children attaining successful academic performance is provided whenever appropriate.

Study of Discontinued Children

Reading Recovery is designed to serve the lowest-achieving students in the first-grade cohort in a school and leads to one of two positive outcomes: successful performance within an average literacy setting in the classroom or recommendation for additional assessment and possibly additional services. Children whose programs are discontinued have successfully completed the program as evidenced by scores on the tasks in *An Observation Survey of Early Literacy Achievement* (Clay, 1993a), having a system of strategic reading and writing behaviors in place, and attaining literacy performance that is within the class average. Service is discontinued as soon as it is determined that the child can engage with and profit from classroom instruction.

Students who have been discontinued from Reading Recovery should demonstrate average-band performance with their peers immediately following the intervention in Grade 1. Also, if Reading Recovery fits the definition of a secondary prevention, the reading difficulty should not develop into a handicapping condition over time. We attempted to determine if the students' average range of performance persisted in subsequent years. Limited data were also available on not-discontinued children who had the opportunity for a full Reading Recovery program but did not achieve average-band performance.

Rationales for Selection of Measures

Three measures were considered important to the stakeholders in this study: (a) performance on standardized measures that included assessment of comprehension (Hiebert, 1994; Shanahan & Barr, 1995), (b) performance on a high-stakes state assessment of literacy skills, and (c) classroom teachers' reported perceptions of children's literacy performance. Therefore, measures to explore elimination or reduction of literacy difficulties included the Gates-MacGinitie Reading Test (GMRT; MacGinitie & MacGinitie, 1989), reading and writing scores from a state-mandated assessment instrument, and a classroom teacher questionnaire. In addition, a test of oral text reading was used to provide information about oral reading behaviors and text reading levels.

Sources of Data and Time Lines

The GMRT was selected as the standardized reading measure because of ease of administration, conservation of time in administration and scoring, general acceptance and wide use in schools, the inclusion of a comprehension measure, and the ability to compare scores across grade levels at equal intervals. Level R, Form K was used in first grade in order to get pre- and post-test scores. For the remaining levels, Form K for the appropriate grade level was administered.

The Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (TAAS) yielded reading and writing scores. This measure was selected because of the importance placed on results by the state, districts, schools, teachers, and community members. The TAAS is not considered a minimum skills test but a more robust measure of literacy performance.

The test of oral text reading comprised a graded series of passages leveled and tested at The Ohio State University. Running records were used to determine the highest level read by a child at 90% accuracy or higher (Clay, 1993b). Passages for Levels 14–16 were taken from end-of-first-grade materials, Levels 18–20 from second-grade texts, Levels 22–24 from third-grade texts, and Level 26 from a fourth-grade reader.

Questionnaires were developed to elicit classroom teachers' reported perceptions of literacy performance of all children in the study (see Appendix A). Questionnaires were also developed to gather information about the participating schools (see Appendix B).

Entry data (Observation Survey and GMRT) were collected for both the Reading Recovery group and non-Reading Recovery random sample group at the beginning of first grade. The GMRT, tests of oral reading, and classroom teacher questionnaires were administered during the last month of each school year. Data for the TAAS were collected at the end of Grades 3 and 4. Data were collected by classroom teachers, Reading Recovery teachers, and Reading Recovery teacher leaders. Reading Recovery teacher leaders submitted scores on the TAAS.

Procedures

Selection of Schools and Subjects

Two groups of children were identified for the study: a group of Reading Recovery children and a group of children representing average classroom performance. Both groups received primary prevention services (classroom instruction), but the Reading Recovery group also received secondary prevention services.

Subjects were selected in the fall of 1995 in order to collect entry data. Selection was based on a series of sampling procedures. Using a table of random numbers, 50 schools were randomly selected from more than 800 schools with Reading Recovery in one state. Participation was high, with 45 schools taking part in the first year. At the outset of the study, educators from each of the schools completed a form describing the school on a variety of factors (see Appendix B). Table 1 provides descriptive data about the 45 participating schools.

At the beginning of Grade 1, it was impossible to identify all of the children who would be served by Reading Recovery or how they would progress.

Table 1. Description of Participating Schools at Beginning of Study (Shown as Percentage of Schools)

Level of Reading Recovery Coverage	
High	53%
Moderate	20%
Low	27%

Reading Recovery Teachers	
All Trained	44%
All In Training	13%
Some Trained or In Training	42%

Years of Reading Recovery in the School	
1	20%
2	31%
3	16%
4	7%
5	9%
6 or more	17%

Other Roles of Reading Recovery Teachers	
Title I/Groups	67%
Classroom Teacher	31%
Reading Specialist	9%
Special Education	7%
Part-Time	4%
Other	7%

(multiple models in some schools)

Ethnic Representation	
Majority Anglo	33%
Majority African-American	2%
Majority Hispanic	27%
No Majority	31%
No Data	7%

Funding Sources for Reading Recovery	
Title I	64%
Local	11%
State	11%
Multiple	13%

Eligibility for Title I Funding	
Yes	78%
No	22%

Description of Locale	
Urban	20%
Suburban	40%
Rural	7%
Small Town	33%

Considered High-Need School	
Yes	71%
No	29%

Note
All data are described at level of the school and represent responses from all 45 participating schools.

Therefore, we used the following categories to select a large sample of Reading Recovery children from the 45 participating schools:

- all children served by Reading Recovery at the beginning of the academic year (ranging from 4 to 12 students per school depending on the number of Reading Recovery teachers),
- up to eight children demonstrating need for service by Reading Recovery but not served at the beginning of the year because all slots were taken (to bring the total number of potential Reading Recovery children to 12 per school), and
- six children randomly selected, using a table of random numbers, from the remaining first-grade population.

From this large group of students identified at the beginning of first grade, two groups of students were selected for this study: 218 discontinued Reading Recovery students and 244 random sample students not served by Reading Recovery. Limited data were gathered on a small group of children who had full programs but did not meet discontinuing criteria.

At the end of fourth grade, data were available for 116 of the original 218 Reading Recovery students and 129 of the 244 random sample children. Although attrition rates were higher than expected, the pattern of attrition posed no problems. Differences between the initial sample and the remaining sample were minimal and did not favor either group.

The samples for the Reading Recovery group and random sample group represented similar ethnic diversity (see Table 2). There were more males in the Reading Recovery group (60%) than in the random sample group (52%).

Table 2. Race/Ethnicity for Random Sample and Discontinued Reading Recovery Students

	Reading Recovery	Random Sample
White	51%	52%
Hispanic	30%	26%
African-American	18%	15%
Other*	1%	7%

*includes Asian and Native American.

Results

There were significant differences ($p < .01$) between the first-grade entry scores of Reading Recovery children and random sample children. These differences validated the selection of an identified group needing secondary prevention.

Figure 1 shows the Gates stanine distribution for each group upon entry to first grade. The mean GMRT stanine for the random sample group was 4 compared with 2 for the discontinued Reading Recovery group. This finding documents group differences between the Reading Recovery students and the random sample that existed prior to the intervention.

Entry data on Observation Survey measures, as shown in Figure 2, also documented significant performance differences between the two groups at the outset of the study.

Table 3 shows achievement outcomes at the end of Grade 4 as measured by running records (Clay, 1993b), TAAS, and GMRT.

On running records, the test of oral text reading, both groups read above-level materials at 90% accuracy or higher at the end of Grade 4, showing change over time in oral reading of continuous text. The mean text reading level for Reading Recovery children was 32 compared to 33 for the random sample group.

Figure 1. Stanine Distribution on Gates-MacGinitie Total at Beginning of Study (Entry Data)

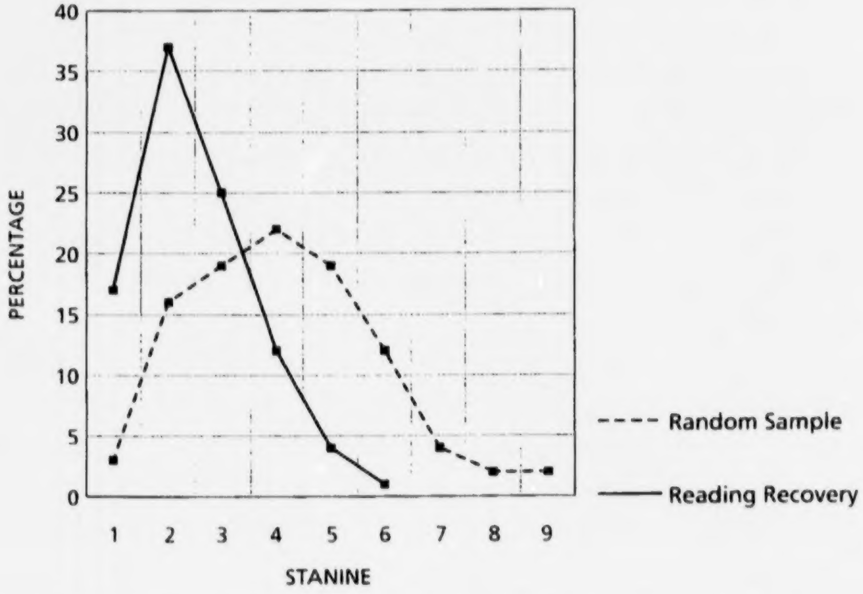


Figure 2. Entry Data From An Observation Survey of Early Literacy Achievement (Clay, 1993a)

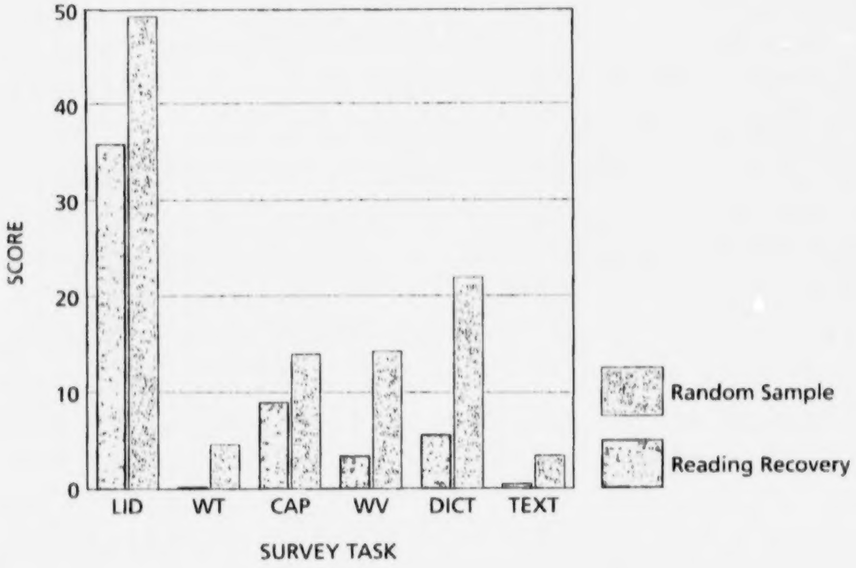


Table 3. Outcome Data at End of Grade 4

	Reading Recovery	Random Sample
Mean Oral Text Reading Level (Level 26 = Grade 4 materials)	32	33
Children Scoring 90% or Better on Text Level 26 or Above	95%	98%
Mean Vocabulary Stanine (Gates)	4	5
Mean Comprehension Stanine (Gates)	4	5
Mean Total Stanine (Gates)	4	5
Children Scoring Stanine 4 or Better on Gates Comprehension	63%	84%
Mean Reading Score on Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (TAAS)	80	86
Children Passing TAAS Reading Test	85%	90%
Mean Score on TAAS Writing Sample	2.3	2.7
Children Passing TAAS Writing Sample	90%	97%

Scores on the reading subtest of the TAAS also provided evidence of continuing gains of Reading Recovery children. At the end of fourth grade, the mean reading subtest score on the TAAS for Reading Recovery children was 80 compared with 86 for the random group. (A score of 70 is passing.) Eighty-five percent of the Reading Recovery children passed the reading test; 90% of the random group passed. On the writing sample, 90% of the Reading Recovery group and 97% of the random group had passing scores.

Further evidence of gains for Reading Recovery children was revealed by comparing entry stanine distributions to distributions in Grade 4. The distribution of scores moved to include more average and some high stanine scores as compared with low scores with little variation at the beginning of Grade 1.

One reason for selecting the GMRT was the ability to use extended scale scores (ESS) to examine gains across years of testing. ESS were developed to follow progress over a period of several years on a single, continuous scale. The ESS measures reading achievement in equal units. For example, a difference of 50 units represents the same difference all along the scale. Gains in ESS scores for the Reading Recovery and random sample groups across all four years of the study are shown in Table 4.

Gates vocabulary and comprehension scores were not available in first grade because the form used to compare fall and spring growth yielded only a total score (Level R, Form K). Therefore, total score gains, which included compre-

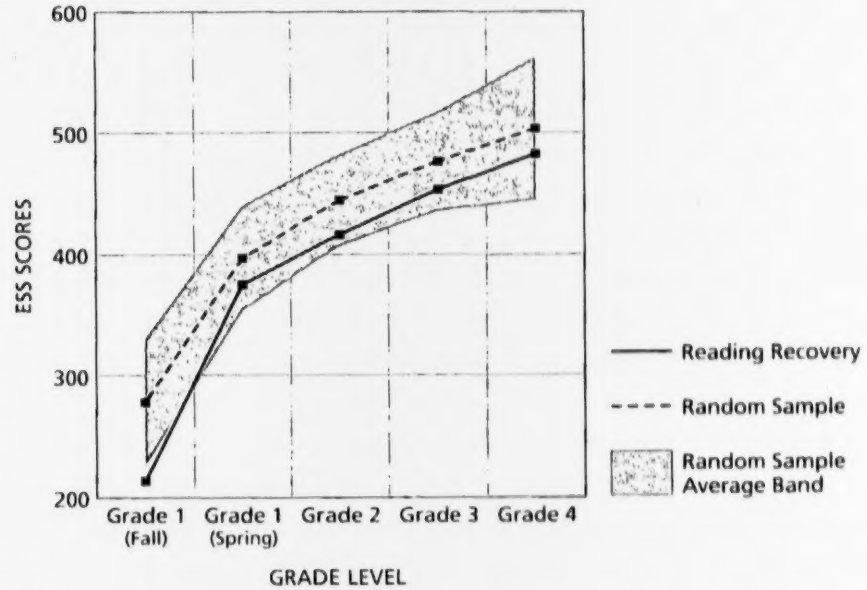
Table 4. Gains on Gates-MacGinitie Reading Test Across Four Time Intervals (Reported in Extended Scale Score Gains)

	Grade-Level Intervals				
	Pre 1–Post 1	1–2	2–3	3–4	Total Gains
Vocabulary					
Reading Recovery	na	na	33	23	na
Random Sample	na	na	29	24	na
Comprehension					
Reading Recovery	na	na	40	25	na
Random Sample	na	na	34	28	na
Total					
Reading Recovery	162	42	37	27	268
Random Sample	118	47	27	27	219

hension measures in Grades 2, 3, and 4, were used across the grades. Gains in Grade 1 for Reading Recovery children provided powerful evidence of accelerated progress. As shown in Table 4, Reading Recovery gains surpassed those of their classroom peers between Grades 2 and 3 and closely matched gains between Grades 3 and 4. This finding provided compelling evidence of continuing annual literacy gains for former Reading Recovery children—gains that closely matched those of their classmates.

ESS scores were used to create a path of progress for the random sample group to represent average performance and progress. An average band of one standard deviation above and below the mean accounted for variability in average classroom performance. In Figure 3, ESS total scores across the five testing administrations were plotted for both groups, and an average band of performance is shown. Reading Recovery children remained within the average band of classroom performance at each testing point after the intervention.

Figure 3. Gain in Extended Scale Scores (ESS) on Gates-MacGinitie Total Test



Classroom teachers completed questionnaires about each child in both groups each year. Their reported perceptions of the children, shown in Table 5, validate assessment data indicating that most of the Reading Recovery children were performing within expected ranges of their classrooms at the end of fourth grade. Few of these initially low-performing children were receiving literacy services outside the classroom.

Reading Recovery children who had a full program but did not discontinue were also studied on a limited basis. At the end of Grade 4, 36 of these children remained in the study. On the test of oral text reading, 17% successfully read materials at or above level at the end of Grade 2, 38% at the end of Grade 3, and 50% at the end of Grade 4—evidence of continued growth. Fourth-grade classroom teachers reported that 27% of these children had a strong average-to-high reading ability (3 to 5 on a 5-point Likert scale). Of the children remaining in this group, only one-third were receiving learning disabilities or Title I services for reading. Although data on these children were limited, findings are promising. More investigation of not-discontinued children is called for.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

It was argued earlier that effective secondary prevention is the first action in a chain of interactions or transactions that lead children to follow more preferred literacy paths in their school settings. Using the case example of Reading Recovery, we argue that secondary prevention has a distinctive and promising role (a) in closing the literacy achievement gap at the outset of schooling, (b) in reducing the need for tertiary prevention and freeing up those services for those

Table 5. Reported Data From Classroom Teachers at End of Grade 4

	Reading Recovery	Random Sample
Placed in Materials At or Above Grade Level	84%	91%
Not Receiving Title I or LD Literacy Services	84%	98%
Classroom Teacher Ratings of Reading Ability as Strong Average to High (3–5 on a 5-point Likert scale)	74%	86%
Classroom Teacher Ratings of Positive Attitudes Toward Reading (3–5 on a 5-point scale)	76%	90%

who really need them, and (c) in creating a systemic plan for prevention in which all interactions are considered in preventing literacy failure. These arguments call for schools to consider policies and practices for preventing failure that include the full range of prevention—primary, secondary, and tertiary.

Preferred Paths

Evidence that secondary prevention leads to preferred paths of literacy achievement is shown in subsequent classroom performance. Findings in this study indicate that a secondary prevention program, in this case Reading Recovery, closes or narrows initial achievement gaps in classrooms. Children who are successful in secondary prevention programs are fully assimilated into primary prevention (classroom) programs once more. There is also evidence that a return to primary prevention programs, along with other interactions within the life and schooling of the children, fosters subsequent achievement. At the end of fourth grade, the majority of the discontinued Reading Recovery children had scores considered to be average or meeting passing criteria on standardized and criterion measures—a very satisfactory outcome in their school setting. They were generally perceived by their teachers as performing within average ranges of their classrooms, providing further evidence that the children followed preferred paths as an outcome of this secondary prevention opportunity.

Findings in the Reading Recovery case example match Juel's (1988) finding that children who are average readers in Grade 1 remain average readers in Grade 4. It is imperative, then, that all children have opportunities for secondary prevention in Grade 1 to realize average performance in later years. Findings also support Shanahan and Barr's (1995) proposition that when secondary prevention options bring children to average and they continue to progress at average rates, there are major implications for the timing of special support and the allocation of resources. Secondary prevention can reduce the incidence and the prevalence of a particular problem—in this case, literacy failure.

Many factors may affect a child's continuing performance on literacy tasks following an intervention, including subsequent instructional experiences (Frater & Staniland, 1994). Shanahan and Barr (1995) suggest that while an intervention may accelerate children's progress, instruction that is responsive to higher achievement is needed for the promise of the intervention to be realized. It is important, then, to institutionalize early secondary prevention as part of the overall system of delivering education, serving as a first step in a process of promoting literacy learning at all levels of schooling.

Relatively few of the Reading Recovery children were placed in tertiary or remedial settings. Approximately 85% of the children were not receiving learning disabilities or Title I reading support in fourth grade. These findings support the argument of Vellutino et al. (1996) that

> to render a diagnosis of specific reading disability in the absence of early and labor-intensive remedial reading that has been tailored to the child's individual needs is, at best, a hazardous and dubious enterprise, given all the stereotypes attached to this diagnosis. (p. 632)

Findings also support Pianta's (1990) notion that prevention does not replace all remedial programs, but it lowers the stress on such programs and reserves them for children with more severe problems.

Change Over Time

Shanahan and Barr (1995) suggested that children's progress is usually accelerated during the period of support, but they questioned whether the rate of learning continues at an accelerated or average rate or whether it returns to slow progress as shown prior to the intervention. Studies have generally shown diminished levels of learning once support has been removed (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; Page & Grandon, 1981). Yet in the secondary prevention study reported here, a large number of former Reading Recovery children who reached an average range of classroom literacy performance in Grade 1 continued to demonstrate an average range of grade-level expectations in subsequent years.

In fact, findings in this case example indicate a general trend toward higher performance for Reading Recovery children across the grades. For example, state assessment data showed an increase across time in individual performance. The percentage of Reading Recovery children passing the reading subtest in Grade 3 was 72%, while 85% passed the test in Grade 4. Others (Rowe, 1995; Shanahan & Barr, 1995) have documented this trend, offering support for a successful return to good primary prevention: classrooms that continue to prevent problems that could lead to long-term remediation.

Studies point to a tentative hold on reading and writing progress in the year or two after the Reading Recovery experience, but an increasingly firm hold on progress similar to that of their class average by Grade 4. Based on her research, Clay (1993b) recommends that schools adopt a watch-dog role for former Reading Recovery children and monitor their progress sensitively, providing further help if needed. She suggests that "although Reading Recovery children may perform well in their classes they remain at-risk children for two or more years after completion of their program" (p. 96). This suggestion is consistent with the notion of a series of interactions and transactions that lead to sustaining preferred paths in literacy settings in schools.

A large Australian study by Rowe (1995) found that Reading Recovery, as an early action followed by a series of interactions within school programs, distributed Reading Recovery children across the same range as the remainder of the school population but with fewer low scores by Grades 5 and 6. The longitudinal study presented here supports Rowe's findings of changed distributions over time.

All secondary prevention efforts should include examination of implications across time, not only of the intervening actions, but also of the subsequent interactions and opportunities. Therefore, only a system perspective of prevention as part of a chain of interactions enables educators to evaluate the parts of a prevention plan and the relationship of all parts to the conceptual whole.

Challenges

If secondary prevention is an early action in a chain of interactions between children and their school environment, issues of program implementation within the school are crucial. Outcomes of secondary prevention programs must be interpreted in light of factors such as age of the implementation within the school, capacity for serving all children needing the service, teacher training and expertise, administrative support, understandings and support from school faculty, classroom and other school programs that support continued progress, and a system for monitoring children's progress and solving problems related to implementation.

While the Reading Recovery case example reported here did not address all implementation challenges, some data were available for examination. For example, 51% of the schools were in their first or second year of Reading Recovery implementation, a tenuous time for examining outcomes. More than half the schools were reporting data on teachers in training, limiting analysis of the full potential of the program. Only about half the schools had adequate teacher resources to serve most of the children needing the support, again limiting examination of the full potential of the prevention effort. Therefore, data should be interpreted in light of such factors. Assessing the efficacy of secondary prevention options calls for the examination of implementation factors as well as post-program environments and their effect on long-term outcomes of programs (Wahlberg & Reynolds, 1997).

"What is possible when we change the design and delivery of traditional education for the children that teachers find hard to teach?" (Clay, 1993b, p. 97). This question guided the explorations that validated the impact of Reading Recovery on the literacy possibilities for young children who find learning to read and write difficult. This question can also guide explorations of subsequent achievement trends of children involved in secondary preventions in their schools and the factors that may influence those trends. While this study offers a promising contribution to that exploration, a challenge goes out for multiple studies employing a variety of methods to explore these trends.

The complexities of examining the long-term effectiveness of prevention efforts in schools are clear. Yet studies such as the case example presented here are adding to a growing body of literature that supports the principle of secondary prevention in schooling—prevention that reduces the duration of serious and enduring problems. These children were initially the lowest literacy performers in their classrooms. Yet because of the compelling findings from the study reported here, we can argue for resources to build strong fences in order to dramatically reduce the number of ambulances down in the valley.

> Better guide well the young than reclaim them when old,
> For the voice of true wisdom is calling.
> "To rescue the fallen is good, but 'tis best
> To prevent other people from falling."
> Better close up the source of temptation and crime
> Than deliver from dungeon or galley;
> Better put a strong fence 'round the top of the cliff
> Than an ambulance down in the valley. (Malins, 1936, p. 274)

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

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APPENDIX A

Classroom Teacher Questionnaire

To the Classroom Teacher: We are interested in the reading and writing performance of children in your grade level. Would you please help by completing this questionnaire about the child named below and returning it to ______________________________? All information will remain confidential and will be reported as aggregated data only. No names of children, teachers, schools, or districts will be used.

Child's Name or Number ______________________________

Classroom Teacher ______________________________

Grade Level ________ School District ______________________________

1. Check the appropriate ethnic description:

___ Anglo	___ Hispanic	___ Native American
___ African-American	___ Asian	___ Other

2. Is this child ___ male? ___ female?

3. Is this child currently receiving any of the following services? Check all that apply.

    ____ Title I Reading

    ____ ESL
    If yes, for how much time each day? ______________________

    ____ Speech
    If yes, for what services? ______________________

    ____ LD Resource for Reading
    If yes, for how much time each day? ______________________

    ____ LD Resource for Math
    If yes, for how much time each day? ______________________

    ____ Content Mastery for Reading

    ____ Other (Please describe and be specific) ______________________

4. Has this child been retained in previous years? ______________________

    If so, at what grade level? ______________________

    Will this child be retained this year? ______________________

5. How would you categorize this child's overall reading performance? Circle one.

Excellent Good Average Fair Poor

6. Please give specific reasons why this child's performance is categorized in this way.

____

____

____

7. What grade did this child receive in reading on the last report card? ______

8. Does this child work in on-level reading materials in your classroom? ______

9. Rate the attributes that best describe the child by circling the appropriate numbers.

	Weak ———				——— Strong
Reading Ability	1	2	3	4	5
Writing Ability	1	2	3	4	5
Attitude Toward Reading	1	2	3	4	5
Attitude Toward Writing	1	2	3	4	5
Chooses to Read When Time Allows	1	2	3	4	5
Selects Books on His/Her Own	1	2	3	4	5
Independent in Class Work	1	2	3	4	5
Tries Hard	1	2	3	4	5
Completes Work	1	2	3	4	5
Attends Well in Class Work	1	2	3	4	5
Responds in Group Discussions	1	2	3	4	5

10. Other Comments:

____

____

The return of this completed questionnaire constitutes your informed consent to participate in this study of young readers and writers. We appreciate your help!

APPENDIX B

School Information Questionnaire

Note: All school data will be reported as aggregated data. Names of schools and districts will not appear in any reports generated from this study. Page 1 is to be completed during the first year of the study (Grade 1) and page 2 during the final year of the study (Grade 4).

Name of School ______________________________

Name of District ______________________________

Name of Person Completing Form ______________________________

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. Make good estimates if data are not available.

How many first graders (in regular English classrooms) were in the school during the 1995–1996 school year? ________

How many Reading Recovery teachers were in the school during the 1995–1996 school year? ________

Were the teachers trained or in training during the 1995–1996 school year? ________

How many years had the school been involved in Reading Recovery in the 1995-1996 school year? ________

How was Reading Recovery funded in the school during the 1995–1996 school year? ______________________________

What implementation model(s) were used in the school during the 1995–1996 school year? (shared first grade, shared kindergarten, Title I teacher, etc.)

____

What was the ethnic representation in the school during the 1995–1996 school year? (give approximate percentages for each of the following)

Anglo___	Asian ___	Hispanic ___
African-American	Other ___	

Did the school qualify for Title I funding during the 1995–1996 school year?

____

The following questions refer to the context of the school following the 1998–1999 school year.

Describe in general terms the general classroom reading/writing program(s) in the school in Grades 2, 3, and 4. Be as comprehensive as possible.

____

____

____

____

Have there been any general or specific classroom literacy initiatives within the school since the 1995–1996 school year?

____

____

____

____

Is the overall performance of children in classrooms in Grade 4 in the school, as measured by standardized measures and state assessment measures, considered high, high average, average, low average, or low?

____

Is the school considered a high-need school within the district? ____________

Does the school have Reading Recovery teams? ________________________

Is the school considered urban, suburban, rural, or small town? ____________

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Vision

That children will be proficient readers and writers by the end of first grade.

Mission

To ensure access to Reading Recovery for every child who needs its support.

Purpose

To sustain the integrity of Reading Recovery and expand its implementation by increasing the number of individuals who understand, support, and collaborate to achieve the mission of the Council.

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I. DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION:

Title: Picturebooks as aesthetic objects
Literacy Teaching and Learning Vol. 6 No. 1

Author(s): Lawrence R. Sipe

Corporate Source: Reading Recovery Council of North America, Inc.

Publication Date: 2001

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I. DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION:

Title: Achieving Motivation: Guiding Edward's Journey to Literacy. Literacy Teaching + Learning Vol. 6 No. 1

Author(s): Susan King Fullerton

Corporate Source: Reading Recovery Council of N America Inc.

Publication Date: 2001

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I. DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION:

Title: "Learning and Teaching at an At-Risk School."
In: Literacy Teaching and Learning Volume 6 number 2

Author(s): Diane Barone, University of Nevada, Reno

Corporate Source: Reading Recovery Council of North America

Publication Date: 2002

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I. DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION:

Title: "Making a Case for Prevention in Education" In: Literacy Teaching and Learning Volume 6 Number 2

Author(s): B.J. Askew, E. Kaye, D.F. Frasier, M. Mobasher, N. Anderson, Y.G. Rodriguez

Corporate Source: Reading Recovery Council of North America

Publication Date: 2002

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